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ORIGINES HEBRÆÆ:

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE HEBREW REPUBLICK.

In FOUR BOOKS.

I. The Origin of the *Hebrews*; their *Civil* Government; the Constitution of the *Sanhedrim*; Forms of Trial in Courts of Justice, &c.

II. The *Ecclesiastical* Government; the Consecration of the High-Priests, Priests, and Levites. The Revenue of the Priesthood. The Sects among the *Hebrews*, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essenes*, &c.

III. Places of *Worship*. The Use of *High-Places*; a Survey of the *Tabernacle*, and the *Proseucha's* of the *Hebrews*. A Description of the *first Temple* from the Scriptures, and of the *second* from the *Rabbinical* Writings. The sacred *Utensils*. The Institution of *Synagogues*, &c.

IV. The Religion of the *Hebrews*. Their Sacrifices; and their Libations. The burning of the *Red Heifer*, and Ceremonies of *Purification*. Their *Sacraments*, Publick *Fasts* and *Festivals*, &c.

Design'd as an Explanation of every Branch of the *Levitical* Law, and of all the Ceremonies and Usages of the *Hebrews*, both Civil and Sacred.

By THO. LEWIS, M. A.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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THE

PREFACE

IT would be ill Nature, I think, if any ſevere Cenſure ſhould paſs upon this Work, unleſs there appears an evident Diſproportion between the Deſign and the Abilities of the Writer, or a notorious Defect of Method and Order in the Execution.

For, to do full Juſtice to a Subject ſo divine and extenſive, to explain with Learning and Judgment the Antiquities of ſo renowned a Part of Mankind as the *Republick of the Hebrews,* is ſo far from wanting a Defence, that it affords large Improvements to the Hiſtory of humane Nature, and admirably ſerves the Intereſt of Chriſtianity itſelf; inſomuch that to attempt after Knowledge

in the Doctrines and Discipline of the Gospel, without searching into the Customs and Ceremonies of the Law, is a prepostrous Persuit, and must end in Ignorance and Disappointment: For example, how can the Merits of the Death and Sufferings of the *Messiah* be understood without enquiring into the System of the legal Sacrifices? And how can the most sagacious Student in Divinity be able to conceive the true Sense of the eloquent Epistle to the *Hebrews*, except he has been also thoroughly conversant in the Writings of *Moses?*

Now, whether my Strength has been equal to the Undertaking, should be decided properly by those who have engag'd in the same Studies, who have turn'd over the Rubbish, and are acquainted with the absurd Fables, the affected Darkness, and unaccountable Riddles of the *Jewish* Doctors; and such will have the Candour to consider, how long and untroden, and almost indiscernable is the Way, that the Guides to direct are few, their Language rough and frightful, their Method so confus'd, their Matter so empty and sophistical, so abounding with Trifles as if they were never to be read, and with Obscurities as if they never design'd to be understood

Besides,

Besides, how perplex'd and almost unintelligible are some Parts of the *Levitical Law* as it stands reveal'd? What seeming Oppositions in many Places, what sudden and abrupt Transitions, what frequent Repetitions, and other discouraging Circumstances run through the whole? So that to fail in the Management of a Subject so full of Difficulties can be no Surprize; nor can I apprehend any great Scandal or Disreputation to follow from it. In short, such as peruse the following Volumes to search for real Faults and raise pertinent Objections, I am confident may find them in abundance, and I should rejoice to see them under Correction; but for those who shall assume a Liberty of making Faults where there are none, and without being able to judge of the Work condemn it, upon the account of an imaginary Meanness and Insignificancy in the Character of the Author, I shall despise the Rudeness and Malignity of such Treatment, having the old Maxim before me:

Hi præ cæteris solent aliena liberius carpere, qui nihil Proprium *ediderunt.*

But whatever Mistakes I have committed, and whatever Qualifications I have wanted, I am apt to believe that

the Method in disposing the Materials is regular and unexceptionable; because I had no Hand in contriving the Model, but have follow'd the Order observ'd generally by all who have written with Success upon this Subject.

The Authorities from whence these Collections have been made are many and of various kinds; for I have call'd in freely all the Assistance I could obtain, in every Language I understood or could procure Help in, as well from the Ancients as from Writers of a more modern Date and uniform Design. The two *Talmuds*, that of *Babylon* and *Jerusalem*, as they contain the Substance of the *Jewish* Divinity, and treat of the Religion and Ceremonies of that Nation, have been consulted and made use of, but with great Caution and Reserve; because so much Bigotry and Folly, such a Mixture of *Pharisaism*, Allegory, and traditionary Superstition, prevail in those Paraphrases, that the Difficulty was to form a Judgment of what was proper to be inserted, and what would give the clearest Light to Revelation, without blending the idle Trifles and ridiculous Glosses of the Rabbins with the Purity, the Majesty, and the divine Testimony of the Scriptures.

Among the Rabbins, *Maimonides*, the great Oracle of the *Jews*, has been particularly

ticularly applied to upon many Occasions; an Author, as *Cunæus* observes, above our highest Commendation; the only Man of that Nation who had the good Fortune to understand what it is to write seriously and to the Purpose.

The Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity of the *Hebrews* is taken from the short Tracts of *Bertram*, *Sigonius*, and *Cunæus*. I have been obliged to *Braunius* for the Account of the Pontifical and Sacerdotal Vestments; to *Buxtorf* chiefly for the Description of the Tabernacle and the Worship of the Synagogue; for the Survey of the first Temple to *Ribera* and *Arias Montanus*; and of the second, to a Countryman of our own, the most judicious and indefatigable *Lightfoot*, the most inexhaustible Treasure of Oriental Learning, and without whose Labours it had been impossible for me to have attempted upon this Subject. From Dr. *Outram* I have given the Account of the Sacrifices and Rites of sacrificing among the *Hebrews*.

I have received much Information from *Josephus*, *Schickard*, *Menochius*, *Leusden*, *Hospinian*, and *Reland*; and I have been eas'd of great Trouble by Mr. *Weemse*, Mr. *Godwyn*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Ainsworth*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Mede*, Mr. *Thorndike*, Bishop *Kidder*, Bishop *Patrick* in his most excellent *Commentaries*, and Dr. *Prideaux*

in his learned *Connection*. From these and many more I have collected the Antiquities that follow, always taking the Liberty to translate, to imitate, or even literally to introduce any Parts of them, if I found them really conducing to the Use or Ornament of the Design; for I could never discover any Merit or Cunning in varying the Style and Sense of an Author, for no other Purpose than to conceal the Ignorance of the Transcriber, or to destroy an Obligation of Gratitude which ought to be confess'd to all Mankind.

After this Pompous Account, it is possible that the Expectation of the Reader may be rais'd, and therefore I am still ready to acknowledge as much Ignorance and Inadvertency as the most ill-natur'd can demand of me; and among very many more, I am sensible of one great Imperfection in this Work, arising from the want of Copper-Plates and Tables to illustrate the Variety of Buildings, Utensils, *&c.* which perhaps remain obscure after all Endeavours to explain them. But yet it must be allow'd to be a difficult Task to describe Structures, and Places, and Things at a Distance and unseen; and I was conscious how small a Figure this Performance would make, and therefore it would have been base and unfaithful

to

to have led the Undertakers into such an Expence.

If any Degree of Favour or Encouragement should chance to attend this Work, I shall go on chearfully, by God's Aid, to finish it in another Volume; which I propose to begin, with inquiring into the *Idolatry* and false Worship of the *Hebrews*; and then, when I have given a short Description of the City of *Jerusalem*, I shall proceed to explain the *Municipal Laws*; such as respected the Subjects in their private and domestick Capacities; such as belong'd to the Publick and the Commonwealth, relating to Contracts, Bargains, Estates, and Inheritances; such as concern'd Strangers and Matters of a foreign Nature, as the Laws of Peace and War, of Commerce and Dealing with Persons of other Countries; and such as secur'd the Honour and Interest of Religion from Idolatry and Apostacy, from Blasphemy and Sacrilege. Then likewise will be consider'd the Method of measuring Time among the *Hebrews*; their Learning, particularly the Number, Division, Language, and Authority of the Canonical Scriptures; their Historiography, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture; their Weights, Measures, and Coins; their Pastoral Art, Agricul-

ture, and other Miſcellaneous Rites and Uſages, both publick and private, which were peculiarly calculated for that People, and by which they were remarkably diſtinguiſh'd from other Nations.

THE

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THE

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE *Hebrew Republick.*

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The Rise, Progress, and Decay of the Hebrew *State.*

TO search into the Origin of States and Kingdoms, as it is the most noble and delightful Part of History, so it is generally attended with great Discouragements, occasion'd by the loss of Books and Records, destroy'd either by Ignorance or Time, which makes the Difficulties appear formidable, and not to be overcome. But the present Design has no Misfortune of this kind to contend with; for as the *Hebrews* were always distinguished as the Favourites of Heaven, so the Care of Providence was seen in nothing more than in preserving the sacred Writings of that People, and transmitting them uncorrupt to Posterity.

Book I.

By thoſe Oracles of Truth we are told, that the Patriarch *Jacob*, who was called *Iſrael*, gave the Name of *Iſraelites* to his Family; who were likewiſe called *Hebrews*, from *Heber*, one of the Progenitors of that Patriarch, and of the fourth Generation after *Noah*. This was no more than a Family of Shepherds, who lived by feeding of Cattle in the Land of *Canaan*, and diſtreſs'd by Famine were obliged to remove into *Egypt*; where God in a miraculous manner had advanced *Joſeph*, one of the Sons, to be Vice-Roy of that fertile Country, and rais'd him to that State of Grandeur by many ſtrange and unſearchable Methods of divine Providence. By his two Wives, the Daughters of his Uncle *Laban*, and his two Handmaids, *Jacob* had twelve Sons, who afterwards became Founders of the twelve Tribes of the *Jewiſh* Nation. This Patriarch, after an Age of an hundred forty-ſeven Years, died in *Egypt*. His Poſterity for ſome time underwent a miſerable Servitude in that Country; till God, remembring the Covenant he had made with their Fathers, reſcued them from the iron Furnace, and conducted them through the Wilderneſs into the Land of Promiſe, formed them into a Commonwealth, and ſettled them under a more fix'd and certain Diſpenſation.

The Perſon appointed by Providence for this purpoſe was *Moſes*, the Son of *Amram*, the Son of *Cohath*, the Son of *Levi* the third Son of *Jacob*, the Founder of the *Hebrew* Polity. The wonderful Preſervation of this Perſon, when an Infant, preſaged him to be born for great and generous Undertakings. When he came to a mature Age, he was reſtored by his Mother to the *Egyptian* Princeſs, the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, who had preſerved him. This Lady adopted him for her own Son, bred him up at Court, where he was poliſh'd with all the Arts of a noble and ingenuous Education, inſtructed in the Modes of Civility and Behaviour, in the Methods of Policy and Government, and in all the Learning and Wiſdom

Wisdom of the *Egyptians*. This great Personage, thus excellently qualified, was made choice of to be the Commander and Deliverer of the *Hebrew* Nation; and not only freed them from Bondage, but loaded them with the Riches of the Country; and in an amazing manner, by the Power of Providence, destroy'd the King and his enraged Army. After he had obtain'd their Freedom, he led them into the Deserts of *Arabia*, where, upon Mount *Sinai*, he convers'd with God, and receiv'd the divine *Pattern*, after which the Ecclesiastical and Civil Government of the *Hebrews* was to be modell'd. The Code and Digest of those Laws consisted of Moral, Ecclesiastical, and Political Precepts, and will be particularly explain'd in the Prosecution of this Work. *Moses*, after he had settled the Church Discipline, and obtained many Victories over *Arad*, *Amalek*, *Sehon*, and *Og*, in his Passage towards *Canaan*, was not permitted to lead the People into the Land of Promise; but before he died, he committed the supreme Authority to *Joshua* after his Decease, and implored the Spirit of God to qualify him for it. This was done by the solemn Ceremony of *laying on of Hands*; for Power to execute any Office among the *Jews* was given by *Imposition of Hands*, whereby the Person was ordained and appointed to it; and this was a Rite of Prayer likewise, as many have observed, for the obtaining the Gifts of the Spirit which were necessary for the Discharge of that Office. *Moses*, a short time before his Death, presented *Joshua* to God by his own Command, and he succeeded him in the Government. Chap. 1.

Joshua, an *Ephramite*, extended the Conquests of his Predecessor by the Overthrow of one and thirty Kings, settled the *Israelites* in the promised Land, and divided it among them according to their Tribes. He is supposed to have written the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and his own Acts, containing the space of fourteen Years; seven employ'd in the Conquests, wherein many of the *Canaanites* fled for Fear, and settled themselves (ac- A. M 2554.

Book I. cording to Mr. *Selden*) in *Africa*; and the other seven were spent in the Division of the Land. He held the first Council in *Sichem*, with *Eleazar* the High-Priest, for abolishing strange Worship, and burying the Bones of *Joseph*. He settled the Tabernacle in *Shiloh*, where it continued three hundred sixty-nine Years, till the Time of *Eli*. This great General died honourably, but left the Nation without a Governor; for there was an Interregnum and a State of Anarchy for eight Years, till God raised up *Othoniel* to be a *Judge* and an Avenger of his People. And thus was introduc'd

The Government of the Hebrews *by* JUDGES.

A. M. 2599. *Othoniel*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, was the first: He led the *Israelites* against *Cushan-Rishathaim*, King of *Mesopotamia*, whom he overthrew, and settled Peace among his Countrymen till his Death. His Successor was

A. M. 2679. *Ehud*, a *Benjamite*: He slew *Eglon*, the King of *Moab*, by a Stratagem, under whose Yoke the *Israelites* had fallen, upon the account of their Idolatry. After him were,

A. M. 2719. *Deborah* the Prophetess, and *Barak* the *Nepthalite*, who routed the mighty Army of *Jabin* King of the *Canaanites*. This Prince was become formidable to the *Israelites*, upon the account of the Valour of *Sisera* his General, and the Terror of nine hundred iron Chariots, which he employ'd in his Wars. But he was overthrown, and *Sisera* slain by *Jael*, a weak Woman, to whose Tent he fled for Protection. *Israel* sin again, and draw the *Midianites* upon them.

A. M. 2759. *Gideon*, a *Manassite*, is then raised, who engaged them with great Success, and slew four of their Princes. He punish'd the *Israelites* who refused to follow him to Battle; but refused the Government, offered to himself, and to be settled upon his Posterity. The Glory he had acquired, was stained by the Idolatry of the *Ephod*, made by him, which became the Destruction of his Family,

mily, though he had seventy Sons lawfully be- Chap. 1.
gotten. For,

Abimelech his Bastard slew them all, save one, A. M. 2769.
upon one Stone, and seized the Government for himself. He destroyed the *Sichemites*, by whom he was advanced; but at the Siege of *Thebez* a Woman threw a piece of a Mill-stone upon his Head, which occasion'd his Death. He thought it a Reproach to be slain by a Woman; and therefore, to prevent the Disgrace, his Armour-bearer thrust him through by his own Command.

Tola of *Issachar* succeeds; his Residence was at A. M. 2772.
Shamir in Mount *Ephraim*. Nothing is recorded of this Judge; but after he had manag'd the State for twenty-three Years, he left it to

Jair, a *Gileadite*. He was supported in his A. M. 2795.
Government by the Assistance of his thirty Sons, who were Lords of so many Cities, that were called *Havoth Jair*. But Idolatry creeping in among them, the *Gileadites* were oppress'd by the *Ammonites*; and, after an Acknowledgment of their Faults, they sent for

Jephtha, their banish'd Countryman, to be A. M. 2817.
their Leader: He, after some Expostulations of Unkindness, accepts the Command. He sends two Embassies to the *Ammonites* to justify the Right of his Cause, and to complain of the Injuries they did him. They refuse to give him Satisfaction; he joins Battle with them, and rashly vows, that if he came off with Victory, he would sacrifice the first thing he met upon his Return to his House; which prov'd his Daughter, and only Child. He overcomes, performs his Vow; and afterwards, being abus'd by the *Ephramites*, he fought with them, and slew of them forty-two thousand Men. His Successor was

Ibsan of *Bethlehem*. He had thirty Sons and A. M. 2823.
thirty Daughters, which procured him a large Alliance, and was succeeded by

Elon, a *Zebulonite*. He administred the Go- A. M. 2830.
vernment, and after ten Years left it to

Book I.

A. M. 2340. *Abdon*, an *Ephramite*, noted for his forty Sons and thirty Nephews, that rode upon threescore and ten Ass-colts; which proves him to have been a Man of great Honour and Estate.

A. M. 2848. *Eli* the High-Priest succeeds, a pious Man, but had wicked Sons, whom he too much indulg'd, which occasion'd their Ruin, and a violent Death to himself; for he broke his Neck. To him succeeds his Servant

A. M. 2888. *Samuel*, a Prophet, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. He settled the *Hebrew* Church and Republick, much decay'd by the loose Conduct of his Predecessor. He kept his yearly Assizes in *Bethel*, *Gilgal*, and *Mispah*, beside his more particular Decision of Causes at Home in *Ramah*. He is supposed to have written the Books of *Judges*, *Ruth*, and a great part of the first of *Samuel*. His Sons, *Joel* and *Abiah*, degenerate from the Piety and Virtue of the Father; which provok'd the People to desire a Change of Government, and insist in a mutinous manner, that instead of *Judges* they would be rul'd by a *King*, like the neighbouring Nations: Which so incens'd the Almighty, that he sent them

The KINGS *of the* HEBREWS.

A. M. 2909. *Saul*, a *Benjamite*, a Prince warlike and brave, but cruel and tyrannical, of a comely majestick Stature, anointed by *Samuel*, and confirmed by all the States, in a solemn Convention at *Mispah*. When he enter'd upon the Government, he rais'd the Siege of *Jabesh Gilead*, and overthrew the *Ammonites*. But his incroaching upon the Priests Office to sacrifice, his sparing of *Agag* and the *Ammonites*, with other Acts of Disobedience, were so offensive to God, that he was abandon'd by him, and plung'd into all the Miseries that attend Confusion and Despair. In this State of Dereliction he grew jealous of his Son *Jonathan*, persecutes *David*, barbarously murders *Abimelech* the High-Priest, with eighty-five Persons that wore a linnen Ephod;

Ephod; and destroys *Nod*, the City of the Priests, with all that belong'd to it; consults with a Witch at *Endor*; and last of all, kills himself on Mount *Gilboa*, leaving his Body to the *Philistines*, and his Kingdom to Chap. 1.

David, of the Tribe of *Judah*, before designed and anointed to that purpose. His Succession was at first disputed by the hereditary Title of *Ishbosheth*; but he overcame that Difficulty, and was confirm'd by the Obedience of the whole Kingdom. He happily restor'd the State of the Church, took *Jerusalem*, and made it the royal City of the Nation. He conquer'd many Countries, and obtain'd signal Victories over the *Philistines*, *Moabites*, *Damascenes*, *Edomites*, *Ammonites*; and enlarg'd his Dominions from *Egypt* to the River *Euphrates*, the utmost Limits promised by God to the Seed of *Abraham*, above eight hundred and eighty Years before. But the Sins of Murder, Adultery, Pride, and other Infirmities, obscured the Glory of his Reign, brought many Misfortunes upon his Family, and occasion'd great Troubles and Convulsions in the State; and particularly prevented the effecting the great Work, the Building of the *Temple*; yet at his Death he left more Treasure, and vaster Sums for that Design, than ever were recorded in any History, either sacred or profane. The Book of *Psalms*, for the most part, was compos'd by this Prince, who recover'd himself by a sincere Penitence; and left his Kingdom to his Son A. M 2949

Solomon, a Prince the most renowned in the World both for Wisdom and Magnificence, who undertook and finish'd what his Father *David* had design'd, having the Honour to be the first Man in the World who erected a Temple to the true God. The 150000 Persons employ'd in the Undertaking, the 3600 general Overseers, together with the seven Years building, give us a noble Idea of the Greatness of the Work, which was so surprizingly beautiful and glorious, that it was accounted one of the greatest Wonders of the A. M. 2990.

Book I. World; which sacred Fabrick was solemnly dedicated to God, whose Majesty became conspicuous in it, by a Cloud of Glory and Fire from Heaven. Now was the State of the *Hebrews* in the Height of its Splendor, and so continued in the utmost Peace and Plenty most of this Reign, which lasted forty Years. A King so wise and knowing, a Court so pompous and magnificent, a People so rich and flourishing, were never known before or since that Time. But the great Errors and Infirmities of *Solomon* in his latter Days caus'd God to deprive this Nation of this mighty Prosperity, and to put an End to the united Monarchy of *Israel*, which had, excepting two Years, continued entire about 120 Years, from the first Establishment of *Saul*. The latter Days of this Prince, after so much Pleasure and Magnificence, were troubled with Insurrections of *Hadad*, *Rezin*, and *Jeroboam*, which he did not live fully to suppress. But after he had written his *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and his celebrated and mystical *Song*, he died, and was succeeded by his Son

A. M. 3030. *Roboboam*, who in the Convention at *Sechem* rejected the Advice of the old Statesmen employ'd by his Father, and by his indiscreet Roughness caus'd Ten of the Twelve Tribes to revolt from him; so that the Nation became divided into two distinct and independent Kingdoms, one called the Kingdom of *Judah*, and the other the Kingdom of *Israel*; the former adhering to *Roboboam*, and the latter chusing *Jeroboam* for their King. When *Roboboam* sent *Adoram* his Treasurer to demand Tribute of the Rebels, they stoned him; which so incens'd the King, that he rais'd an Army of 180000 Men to recover his Right; but he was forbidden to proceed by *Shemaiah*, who came to him by divine Commission, which he obey'd. He fell into Idolatry, and allow'd the *Sodomites* to continue in the Land. These Impieties provok'd the divine Vengeance, who brought upon him an Invasion from *Shishak* King of *Egypt*, who came and rifled the Temple, and the royal Treasure;

Treasure; so that the King of *Judah* was forced to supply the golden Shields of his Father, which were then carried away, with the like of Brass. This King left the State much impoverish'd, and reduced to great Extremities, to his Son. Chap. I.

Upon the Division of the Kingdoms, *Jeroboam* judg'd no way more effectual to secure his new acquir'd Sovereignty, than by diverting his Subjects from the Temple, and the establish'd Worship at *Jerusalem*; therefore, out of a cursed Policy, he erected two golden Calves in *Dan* and *Bethel*, one in the Tribe of *Nepthali*, and the other in *Ephraim*; persuading the People there to make their publick Adorations and Sacrifices, appointing Priests and other Officers for that purpose; from which time the true Religion began visibly to decay, and Idolatry to gain ground after a notorious manner: And though God permitted the Kingdom to continue under the Government of nineteen several Kings, all of whom were idolatrous and impious, yet he soon made it decline, and after the Space of 254 Years, from the Death of *Solomon*, finally destroy'd it, by the Hand of *Salmanasser* King of *Assyria*, who not only ravag'd the Country, but carry'd all the Ten Tribes captive into his own Dominions, and planted other Nations in their room. So that this Kingdom became a Part of the great *Assyrian* Empire; only the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, by their Industry, regain'd some part of their ancient Dominions in the Country beyond *Jordan*. This great Alteration, and first Dispersion of the *Israelites*, was of fatal Consequence, for they never recover'd their own Country; and as to their State and Fortunes afterwards we have no certain Account.

The KINGS *of* JUDAH.

Abijam, the Son of *Reboboam*, succeeded in the Kingdom of *Judah*. He attempted the Recovery A. M. 3045.

Book I. very of the revolted Tribes, and with an Army of 400000 engaged *Jeroboam*, who came againſt him with 800000, whom he defeated, and ſlew of them 500000, becauſe he relied upon the God of his Fathers. By this remarkable Victory he recovered many Towns, and humbled the Pride of the Uſurper during his Life. The Life of this Prince was written by *Iddo* the Prophet, which is now loſt. To him ſucceeded his Son

A. M. 3049. *Aſa*, who reform'd the State of Religion, by expelling the *Sodomites*, and demoliſhing the Groves and Images erected by his Father; yet the High Places continued, which had ſtood ſince the Reign of *Solomon*. He raiſed an Army out of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, conſiſting of 580000 Men, with which he overthrew *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* King, who brought 1000000 againſt him. He hired *Benhadad* of *Damaſcus* to hinder *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael* from fortifying *Ramah*, which was done; and for a Reward gave him the conſecrated Treaſure of the Temple. Towards his latter End he had violent Pains in his Feet, which increaſing upon him, he depended upon the Skill of Phyſicians more than the Relief of Heaven; and dying, was magnificently buried, leaving for his Succeſſor his Son

A. M. 3092. *Jehoſaphat*. This Prince was very circumſpect in fortifying his Territories; and had an Army in the Field, beſides the Forces in Garriſon, conſiſting of 1160000 Men, under the Conduct of five Generals of great Valour and Experience. He employ'd himſelf in reforming the corrupt State of the *Hebrew* Church, took away the High Places, cut down the Groves throughout the Kingdom of *Judah*, and ſent abroad Preachers to inſtruct the People. But his entring into Alliance with *Ahab*, the idolatrous King of *Iſrael*, had like to have coſt him his Life at the Battel of *Ramoth Gilead*, for which he was boldly reproved by *Jehu* the *Seer*. A mixt Company of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Seir*, conſpired againſt him, but

but were miraculously defeated, by the mutual massacring of one another in *Hazazon-Tamar*, as *Jehaziel* the Levite had foretold. This Deliverance was the Effect of his Fasting and Prayer; for which he celebrated a solemn Thanksgiving in the Valley of *Berachah*. The Escape that he had when he joined his Forces with *Ahab*, did not prevent his confederating with *Ahaziah*, the Son of that wicked King; for they united their Navies in order to trade to *Tarshish*; but the Ships were destroy'd, as *Eliezar* the Prophet had declared they would. The Life of this King was written by *Jehu*, the Son of *Hanani*, which is lost. He died, and leaves the Crown to Chap. 1.

Jehoram, a degenerate Son from so pious a Father, made worse by marrying *Athaliah*, the Sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*. The Beginning of his Reign was stained with Blood; for he enter'd upon the Kingdom with the Slaughter of his Brethren, and many of his Nobles. He obtained a Victory over the *Edomites*, but could not keep them in Subjection, nor prevent the Revolt of *Libnah*, one of his own Cities. In his Reign the *Philistines* and *Arabians* surprize *Jerusalem*, and carried captive his Wives and all his Sons, except the youngest. A dreadful Disease at last seizes upon him, so that his Bowels fell out, and he died in a most loathsome manner. He was not buried in the Sepulchers of his Fathers. A. M. 3115.

Ahaziah, his youngest Son, succeeds, and governs by the wicked Advice of his Mother. He assisted *Jehoram* King of *Israel* at the Siege of *Ramoth-Gilead*, and afterwards made him a complimental Visit when he returned to be cured of his Wounds. But that cost him his Life by the Hand of *Jehu*, who was raised by God for the Destruction of the House of *Ahab*. By reason of the Piety of his Grandfather *Jehoshaphat*, he was indulg'd a royal Interment. His Mother A. M. 3119.

Athaliah usurps the Kingdom: She began her Reign with the Destruction of the royal Race of *David*, to free herself from Competitors; but the com- A. M. 3129.

Book I. compaſſionate Princeſs *Jehoſheba*, the Wife of *Jehoiadah* the High-Prieſt, convey'd her young Nephew *Joaſh*, the Son of *Ahaziah*, from her Cruelty, and brought him up ſecretly in the Temple. *Athaliah* govern'd the Kingdom for ſeven Years; but was afterwards dethron'd and ſlain by the Policy of *Jehoiadah*; and the right Heir,

A. M 3126. *Joaſh*, took place when he was but ſeven Years old. He adminiſter'd the Government with great Prudence and Juſtice, under the Tutorage and Advice of his religious Uncle *Jehoiadah*, gave Orders for the Repair of the Temple, and corrected many Abuſes that had crept into the Church and State. But upon the Death of the High-Prieſt, he fell into the Hands of a vicious Miniſtry, who corrupted his Principles, and introduc'd Idolatry. *Zechariah*, the Son of *Jehoiadah*, remonſtrated ſharply againſt theſe Impieties, but was barbarouſly ſtoned to Death, by the King's Command, in the Court of the Temple. This Cruelty and Injuſtice was reveng'd by God, who brought the *Syrians* againſt him, by whom he was ſhamefully overthrown. He was plagued with Diſeaſes, and at laſt treacherouſly ſlain by his own Servants, leaving his Kingdom to his Son

A. M. 3166. *Amaziah*, who executed the Traitors that ſlew his Father, but ſpared their Children. He rais'd an Army of 300000 of his own Subjects, and hired 100000 Auxiliaries of the King of *Iſrael*, to aſſiſt him in a War againſt the *Edomites*; but was forbidden by a Prophet to take the *Iſraelites* with him, who were diſmiſs'd, and in their Return home plunder'd the Country of *Judah*. The King with his own Forces engages the *Edomites*, and proves victorious. Made vain with this Succeſs, he challenges *Joaſh* the King of *Iſrael* to Battel; who attempted to diſſuade him from his Purpoſe, but could not. Both Armies engage, and *Amaziah* is taken Priſoner, and *Jeruſalem* plunder'd. Theſe Misfortunes produce no Amendment in him, but he is ſlain in his Idolatry, by a Con-

Conſpiracy that overtook him, flying, at *Lachiſh.* Chap. 1.
He is brought back to *Jeruſalem*, and buried with his Fathers.

Uzziah his Son ſucceeds. He prov'd a very valiant Prince, and victorious againſt the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians*; had always in pay an Army of 300700 Men, fortified *Jeruſalem* with mathematical Engines, and raiſed proper Defences in all Parts of his Kingdom. He was a great Sheepmaſter, a Planter of Vines, and a Lover of Huſbandry. Elated by his Proſperity, he profanely invades the Prieſts Office, and burns Incenſe againſt the divine Command; but he was ſmitten with Leproſy, and haſted out of the Temple for fear of a more ſevere Judgment. He was ſhut up in a ſeparate Houſe, as the Law directs, being unfit to converſe with others, and conſequently to manage the Kingdom: Therefore A. M. 3194.

Jotham was ſettled in the Government. He was a great Builder, and fought with Succeſs againſt the *Ammonites*. He took warning by the Example of his Father, made no Attempt upon the Prieſts Office, but endeavour'd to reform the Corruptions of Religion; yet the High Places were not aboliſh'd, whereby the People continued in their Idolatry. His Son A. M. 3246.

Ahaz ſucceeded, who degenerated from the Piety of his Father, introduced the Idolatry of the Kings of *Iſrael*, and expiated his Children by Fire in the Valley of *Hinnom*. He was routed by the *Syrians*, who carried away a Multitude of his Subjects to *Damaſcus*. Here he met with *Tiglath Pileſer* King of *Aſſyria*; and from hence he ſent home the Model of a Pagan Altar, according to which another was built by *Urijah* the High-Prieſt, and ſet up in the Temple, and ſacrificed upon. He was defeated by *Pekah* the King of *Iſrael*, whoſe Champion, *Zichri* of *Ephraim*, ſlew *Maaſſiah* the King's Son, and the principal Officers he had about him. At this time *Iſrael* carried away 200000 Captives; who, by means of *Obed* the Prophet, were return'd without Hurt or Ranſome. A. M. 3262.

Book I.

some. These Miseries had no effect upon this wicked Prince; for he hired the King of *Assyria* to assist him against the *Edomites*, with the consecrated Treasure of the Temple. After an unfortunate Reign he slept with his Fathers, but was not allow'd to be buried with them.

A. M. 3277. *Hezekiah* his Son succeeds to the Crown. His first Care was to rectify the Abuses of Religion introduc'd by his Father, abolished Idolatry, and broke in pieces the brazen Serpent made by *Moses*, to which the People, for many Years, had burnt Incense. He invited all *Israel* to celebrate the Passover; but they refused with Scorn. *Sennacherib*, the *Assyrian* King (whose Father *Salmanassar* had not long before carried the ten Tribes into Captivity) besieged *Jerusalem*; but he was defeated in the Enterprize, with the miraculous Loss of 185000 of his Men. *Hezekiah* falls sick, and by Humiliation and Prayer purchased a Prolongation of his Life for fifteen Years; which was confirm'd to him by a Sign of the Retrogradation of the Shadow in the Dial of *Ahaz*. He was congratulated upon his Recovery by *Berodach Baladan*, the Son of the King of *Babylon*, by Letters and rich Presents; but vainly shewing to the Embassadors the Wealth of his Kingdom, he was reproved by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who foretold that those Treasures should be taken and removed to *Babylon*. This Prince died, and was inter'd honourably, leaving his Kingdom to his Son

A. M. 3306. *Manasseh*, who wickedly revived the Idolatry of his Grandfather *Ahaz*, expiates his Children in the Fire, uses all kinds of Witchcraft, works by familiar Spirits, sets up a carved Image in the Temple, and made his Subjects the very Sink of Impiety, and more abominable than the neighbouring Pagans. He put to Death the Prophet *Isaiah* for opposing him in his Vices. This impious Conduct threw him out of the Protection of Providence, and brought the King of *Babylon* upon him, who carried him into Captivity; an

Affliction

Affliction that open'd his Eyes, and a Way to his Repentance. He is reſtored again to his Kingdom, abhors his former Wickedneſs, reforms the State of Religion, dies a ſincere Penitent, and leaves

Amon his Son to ſucceed; who, inſtead of improving by the Example of his Father, reſtores Idolatry, and perſiſts incorrigible in his Wickedneſs. A Conſpiracy was form'd againſt him by his Servants, who ſlew him in his own Houſe; which Act however was ſo reſented by the People, that the Traitors ſoon met with deſerved Puniſhment. His Succeſſor was his Son A. M. 3361.

Joſiah, a pious and excellent Prince. His principal Care was to purge the Church of the Abominations of former Reigns, and to repair the Temple. He brought to light the Book of the *Law* that had been loſt, and celebrated a ſolemn Paſſover in a more publick manner than all the Kings that went before him. He was fatally wounded in an unadviſed Expedition againſt *Pharaoh Necboh*, King of *Egypt*, at the Battle of *Megiddo*, returns, and dies at *Jeruſalem*, and was buried with great Lamentation of the Prophet *Jeremiah* and all his Subjects. He was ſucceeded by his Son A. M. 3363.

Jehoahaz. This Prince found the Kingdom broken by the Misfortunes of his Father; and, after a Reign of three Months only, was depos'd by *Pharaoh Necboh*, who ſent him captive into *Egypt*; and placed his Brother *Eliakim* upon the Throne, whom he called A. M. 3394.

Jehoiakim; who degenerating from the Virtues of his Father, was in eleven Years carried Priſoner to *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, with all the Riches of the Temple. His Son A. M. 3395.

Jehoiachin ſucceeded, who had the ſame Fate with his Father; for at the end of three Months he was led Captive towards *Babylon*, with his Wives, his Mother, and the great Officers of the Realm. It is thought he died upon the way, and had no better than the Burial of an Aſs, as A. M. 3405.

Jeremiah

Book I.

Jeremiah had foretold. He was succeeded by his Brother

A. M. 3405. *Zedekiah*, who before was called *Mattaniah*. He rebelled againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, contrary to the Advice of *Jeremiah* the Prophet, and a ſolemn Oath of Allegiance which he had taken. *Jeruſalem*, after a Siege of two Years, was plunder'd, the King ſeiz'd, and the City defaced; and the glorious Temple, after it had ſtood 416 Years the Wonder and Envy of the World. He was brought to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who ſlew his Sons before his Face, then put out his Eyes, and carried him to *Babylon*, where he died miſerably. This was the ſecond memorable Captivity of the *Iſraelites*, beginning about 114 Years after the other, though not compleated till the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, when all things were left in a miſerable Deſolation, and the Inhabitants made a Scorn to all Nations.

After a Captivity of ſeventy Years, *Cyrus the Great*, King of *Perſia* and *Babylon*, by means of a divine Impulſe, reſtor'd theſe two Tribes to their former Habitations, and gave them Commiſſion to rebuild their ancient City and Temple. Which laſt Work was immediately begun, and continued with great Diligence, by *Zerubbabel*, and others; but with ſo much Oppoſition from the neighbouring Inhabitants, that it was not finiſh'd till twenty Years after. Now was there another Alteration in the Government; which was no longer *Regal*, but rather *Sacerdotal*, the High-Prieſt having the greateſt Authority; but the principal Power was retain'd by the *Sanhedrim*.

The SACERDOTAL *Government after the* Captivity.

A. M. 3468. *Joſhua*, the Son of *Jozedek*, returned out of Captivity (where his Father had died) and aſſiſted *Zerubbabel* in the building of the Temple, and the Settlement of the People.

A. M. 3521. *Joiakim*, ſaid to be the Son of *Joſhua*, under whoſe Adminiſtration, by the Induſtry of *Ezra* and

and *Nehemiah*, the Temple was finish'd, and divine Worship restor'd. Chap. I.

Eliashib succeeded, and bore the Office of the High-Priesthood forty Years. A. M. 3552.

Joiada followed, and was succeeded by A. M. 3593.

Jonathan, or *Johanan*. He slew his own Brother *Jesus* in the Temple, whom *Bagoses*, the chief Commander for *Artaxerxes* the Younger, would have made High-Priest. The Governor was so incens'd at this impious Act, that he broke into the Temple, and laid a Tax of forty Drachms upon every Lamb that was offer'd in the daily Sacrifice. A. M. 3633.

Jaddua. He had a Brother called *Manasses*, who married the Daughter of *Sanballat*, for which he was expell'd the Priesthood, and became the Founder of the Temple on Mount *Gerizim*. This High-Priest met *Alexander the Great* in his sacred Vestments, when he intended to destroy *Jerusalem*; which awful Sight diverted him from his Design. A. M. 3664.

Onias, the Son of *Jaddua*, succeeded, and administred the Government one and twenty Years. A. M. 3684.

About this Time the two surviving Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* lost their ancient Name of *Israelites*, and have ever since been called by the Name of *Jews*.

Simon, or *Simeon the Just*. The *Jews* tell us great things of this *Simon the Just*, and speak of great Alterations that happened on his Death in some Parts of their divine Worship, and the Signs of the divine Acceptance, that had till then appear'd in the Performance of them. The * *Jerusalem Talmud* observes, that all the Time of *Simon the Just*, the Scape Goat had scarce fallen to the middle of the Precipice of the Mountain, from whence he was cast, but he was broken to pieces. But when *Simon the Just* was dead, he fled away alive into the Desart, and was devour'd by the *Saracens*. While *Simon the Just* lived, the A. M. 3704.

* Mishna & Gemara Hierosol. in Yoma.

Book I.

Lot of God, in the Day of Expiation, went forth always to the right Hand; but after his Death, it went forth sometimes to the right Hand, and sometimes to the left. In his Days the little scarlet Tongue look'd always white; but when he was dead, it look'd sometimes white and sometimes red. The West Light always burnt in his Time; but after his Demise, it sometimes burnt and sometimes went out. Under the Priesthood of *Simon the Just*, the Fire upon the Altar burnt clear and bright; and after two pieces of Wood laid on in the Morning, they laid on no more the whole Day; but after his Decease the Force of the Fire languished in such a manner, that they were obliged to supply it all the Day. In the Time of *Simon the Just*, a Blessing was sent upon the two Loaves and the Shew-Bread, so that a Portion came to every Priest to the Quantity of an Olive at least; and there were some who did eat, and others had some remaining when they had eaten their fill: But when *Simon the Just* was dead, that Blessing was withdrawn, and so little remained to each Priest, that those who were modest withdrew their Hands, and those who were greedy still stretched them out. The Explication of these Particulars refer'd to, will be found in the Course of these Antiquities.

A. M. 3712. *Eleazar* was the Brother of *Simeon*: He sent the seventy Interpreters to *Ptolomy Philadelphus* to translate the Law into *Greek*.

A. M. 3728. *Manasseh*, the Brother of *Eleazar*.

A. M. 3753. *Onias*, the Son of *Simon the Just*. By his Covetousness he incurr'd the Displeasure of *Ptolomy Evergetes* King of *Egypt*.

A. M. 3787. *Simon*, the Son of *Onias*. He withstood *Pompey* in his Attempt upon the Temple.

A. M. 3808. *Onias*, the Son of *Simon*. He had the Character of a good Man; but falling into bad Times he perished in them: He was thrust out of the Priesthood in his Life-time by *Jason* his Brother; but after his Death he was succeeded by *Onias*, another Brother.

Onias,

Onias, the Brother of *Jason*, who was also called *Menelaus*. This High-Priest was a Person of the most vicious Qualities; he quarrelled with his Brother, abandon'd the Laws and Religion of his Country, and call'd in *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*. This Prince succeeded in the Invasion, and enter'd *Jerusalem*, made a miserable Slaughter of the Inhabitants, profan'd and pillag'd the Temple, and compell'd many by Tortures to eat forbidden Meats, and to offer Sacrifice to Idols. This Cruelty and Desolation rais'd the Spirit of *Mattathias*, a Priest of the Course of *Jojarib*, and the Head of the *Asmonæan* Family, in his old Age, to contend for the Support of his Religion, and the Deliverance of his Country. But tho' he had good Success against the *Syrians*, whom he routed in several Engagements; yet he did not live to accomplish his Design, but left it to be pursued by his Son Chap. 1. A. M. 3833.

Judas Maccabæus, so called from the four initial Letters which he carried in his Standard; which signified, *Lord, who is like unto thee among the Mighty*? He obtained three noted Victories over the *Syrians*, who had for their Generals *Apollonius*, *Gorgias*, and *Lysias*. He purifies the Temple polluted by *Antiochus*; and to perpetuate the Memory of this Act, he appointed the Feast of the *Dedication*, that was honour'd with our Saviour's Presence. He overcame the *Idumeans*, *Ammonites*, and others; makes a League with the *Romans*; defeats and kills *Nicanor* the General of *Demetrius*, with all his Army. But venturing with 800 Men to engage with *Bacchides*, the *Syrian* General, who had 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, after he had bravely routed the right Wing, he was inclosed by the left, and slain. A. M. 3838. Exod. 15. 12.

Jonathan, the Brother of *Judas*, succeeds: He overcame the *Syrian* Armies, under the Conduct of *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, two great Generals, engaged in the Interest of *Alexander* the Son of *Antiochus*, who made him High-Priest, in which A. M. 3844.

Book I. Office he was confirm'd by *Antiochus* the Son of *Alexander*. After a Series of many great Exploits, he was treacherously murder'd by *Tryphon*, who aspired to the Crown of *Syria*. His Brother

A. M. 3861. *Simon* takes possession of the Government. He was deceived by *Tryphon* of a hundred Talents, which he sent by the two Sons of *Jonathan* to redeem their Father; subdued the Cities of *Gaza*, *Joppa*, and *Jamnia*, and drove the *Syrians* out of *Judæa*, continued the League with the *Lacedemonians* and *Romans*; and for his Valour and Conduct was called the High, Chief-Priest, Governor, and Prince of the *Jews*; but was betray'd in the height of his Fortune by *Ptolomy* his Son-in-law, and perfidiously slain, with his two Sons *Mattathias* and *Judas*, at an Entertainment at *Jericho*. But

A. M. 3870. *Johannes Hyrcanus*, the third Brother, escaped to succeed the Father, and to revenge the Parricide. He besieged *Ptolomy* in the Castle of *Dagon*; but desisted at the Sight of his Mother's Tortures, who encourag'd him to continue the Siege. He bravely defended *Jerusalem* against *Antiochus Sedites*, of whom he purchased his Peace with a great Sum of Money, supply'd (as *Josephus* relates) out of the royal Sepulchre of *David*. He recover'd many Places in *Syria*, sack'd *Samaria*, destroy'd the Temple at *Gerizim*, which had stood two hundred Years, compell'd the *Idumæans* to be circumcised, slew many of the wise Men at *Jerusalem*, and died a *Sadducee*. The Government of the *Jews*, after his Decease, admitted of another Change; for the Son and Successor of this Prince thought fit to take the *Crown* upon him, and was the first King over the *Jews* after the *Babylonian* Captivity; the Sacerdotal Administration, as it is called by some, having continued, without any noted Intermission, about four hundred twenty-eight Years.

The

Ariſtobulus admits his Brother *Antigonus* into the Government with him; but by the Perſuaſion of his Wife *Salome* he was ſoon diſpatch'd. He impriſon'd his three younger Brothers, and ſtarv'd his own Mother, upon ſuſpicion that ſhe affected the Kingdom; for which his Conſcience torturing him, after a Year's Reign, he dies miſerably. A. M. 3898.

Alexander Jannæus his Brother (releas'd by *Salome* out of Priſon) ſucceeds, for which Favour he marries the Widow. He was a Prince cruel and tyrannical; for he ſlew of his own Subjects fifty thouſand at one time, and commanded eight hundred of his principal Enemies before his Face. He fought with Succeſs againſt his foreign Enemies; for he exceedingly enlarg'd the Bounds of his Kingdom, by the Conqueſt of all *Ituræa*, and ſome Parts of *Syria*. After a Sickneſs of three Years with a *Quartan* Ague he died. A. M. 3899.

Alexandra (called likewiſe *Salome*) ſucceeds, and wiſely eſpouſing the Party of the *Phariſees*, as her Husband adviſed her, continued to reign nine Years. But being broken with the Infirmities of old Age, her eldeſt Son A. M. 3926.

Hyrcanus (whom ſhe before had made High-Prieſt) ſucceeds by Right; and being a Prince of weak Parts and little Action, was at firſt diſturb'd in the Succeſſion by his younger Brother *Ariſtobulus*; but was at laſt firmly eſtabliſh'd by *Pompey*, who carried *Ariſtobulus*, and his Sons *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, Captives to *Rome*. *Alexander* eſcaped from Priſon, and diſturb'd the Repoſe of his Country, till he was ſurpriz'd by *Gabinius*, and ſlain by *Scipio*; after whoſe Death, *Antigonus*, by the Power of the *Parthians*, depriv'd *Hyrcanus* of the Kingdom, and cut off his Ears. But Revenge ſoon followed this Barbarity; for *Antigonus* was ſoon after ſlain by *Antony*. The unfortunate *Hyrcanus* remain'd for ſome time A. M. 3935.

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Priſoner among the *Parthians*; but hearing of the Death of *Antigonus* he return'd home, and lived quietly under the Government of *Herod*, who was by that time fix'd in the Throne, and by whom he was at laſt wickedly murder'd.

Theſe Diſturbances, occaſion'd by the Uſurpation of *Ariſtobulus*, and the Indiſcretion of *Hyrcanus*, brought the whole Country under the Power of the *Romans*; ſo that *Paleſtine* became a Province of the *Roman* Empire. Yet notwithſtanding this Conqueſt, the former Laws and Cuſtoms were continued, as alſo the Sacerdotal Government, which remain'd about twenty-two Years longer in its full Force, till *Herod*, an *Idumæan* Prince, accidentally obtained the Kingdom of *Judæa* from the Senate of *Rome*, and in three Years became Maſter of the whole Country; which he enlarg'd, and brought to a greater Degree of Grandeur and Magnificence than ever it had been in ſince the Reign of *Solomon*. Yet at the ſame time he depreſs'd the Prieſthood, extirpated the *Maccabæan* Family, and miſerably enſlav'd the Inhabitants. This was the firſt Foreigner to whom the *Jews* became immediately ſubject, in whoſe Reign the Saviour of the World was born: So that the ancient Prophecy of the Scepter's departing from *Judah*, is by the beſt Critics ſuppoſed to begin to take place at this time; though it was not entirely completed, till the laſt Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the final Diſſolution of the *Jewiſh* State.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A Description of the Holy Land, *with its several Names and Divisions, till it became a Province of the* Roman *Empire.*

THE *Holy Land* (the Scene of the Revolutions above recited) first called the Land of *Canaan* and the Land of *Promise*, lies in *Asia*, near the most Western Part of that Quarter of the World, and is bounded on the East by *Arabia Deserta*, from which it is partly divided by Mount *Gilead* and Mount *Arnon*; on the West, or rather North-West, by the farthest End of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and some of that Part of *Syria* called *Phœnicia*; on the North, or North-East, by the rest of *Syria*, from which it is divided by *Anti-Libanus* and Mount *Hermon*; and on the South and South-West, by *Arabia Petræa*, and particularly by that Part of it called *Idumæa*. Its Situation is in a very warm Climate, between 30 Degrees 4 Minutes, and 33 Degrees 2 Minutes of Northern Latitude; and between 64 Degrees 49 Minutes, and 68 Degrees 20 Minutes of Longitude; being in Length, from the Northern Parts of *Galilee* to the Southern Parts of *Judæa*, about 200 *English* Miles; and in Breadth, from the Eastern Parts of *Peræa* to the Western Parts of *Samaria*, about half as much, and in some Places less: So that it contained a Spot of Land not half so large as the Kingdom of *England*. Yet notwithstanding the Smallness of the Limits, and the Heat of the Climate, it surpass'd all Countries in the World in Fertility and Pleasantness, being a Land abounding with the most delicious Fruits and choicest Grains, replenish'd with beautiful Hills and Fountains, with luxurious Vales and Plains, and pleasant Groves and Forests, fill'd with such Numbers of rich Cities and Towns, and blest with such a sweet Temperature of Air, that God

Book I. thought fit to assign it for the Habitation of his elect People, and promis'd it to the Father of the Faithful and his Posterity. This Country is divided into two unequal Parts by the River *Jordan*, and two Lakes, which are call'd the Sea of *Galilee* and the *Dead Sea*. *Jordan* runs almost from North to South, or rather, from North-East to South-West; but that Part of the Country which lies on the West, or North-West side of this River, is the largest and most fertile.

The first Inhabitants of this Land were principally descended from *Canaan*, the fourth Son of *Ham*, or *Cham*, one of the three Sons of *Noah*, from whom this Country was called the Land of *Canaan*; for immediately after the Confusion of Languages at *Babel*, and not much above a hundred Years after the Flood, *Canaan*, with his eleven Sons, pass'd through *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and took Possession of almost all that part of the Country on the West side of *Jordan*, afterwards spreading themselves partly on the other side of the River. Five of his Sons were left to inhabit *Phœnicia* and the Coasts of *Syria*; and from the other six, together with himself, sprang several remarkable Nations, who for their Sins afterwards, by divine Appointment, were to be utterly extirpated, namely, the *Canaanites*, the *Amorites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Hittites*, the *Hivites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Girgeshites*, of whom the three first were the most potent. The Numbers of these People increasing, their Families were subdivided into many inferior Branches and Sovereignties; so that when *Joshua* enter'd this Land, he found above thirty Kings amongst them. Besides which, they gradually admitted several other Nations to be their Neighbours, and partly to mix with them; as particularly the *Philistines* on the Western Coasts, a gigantick People of the Race of *Misraim*, the second Son of *Cham*; the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* beyond *Jordan*, both Descendants of *Lot* by his own Daughters; with part of the *Midianites* and *Edomites*, Descendants of *Midian*

Midian and *Esau*, both inhabiting the Southern Parts and Borders of *Arabia*. Chap. 2.

These Nations daily increas'd in Wealth and Numbers, and liv'd surrounded with Plenty and Pleasures, though not free from frequent Wars and Contests among themselves; yet they never met with any dangerous or fatal Disturbance till near eight hundred Years after the first Plantation of the Land; when the *Hebrews*, under their great Commander *Joshua*, took forcible Possession of it, subdu'd these People, and in a few Ages enslav'd and destroy'd all the old Inhabitants.

The Country being in a great measure reduc'd by *Joshua*, was divided into twelve Parts, or Portions, among the Descendants of the twelve Sons of *Jacob*; the whole Land was divided into so many equal Shares as there were Tribes (a due Respect being had to their Number) and the Portion of every Tribe was to be determin'd by Lot; the manner of which they say was this: Two Urns being plac'd before him that drew the Lots, in one of which were Scrolls of Parchment containing the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, and in the other the Portions of Land, he first put his Hand into the Urn wherein were the Names, and drew out one, suppose that of *Judah*; and then he put his Hand into the other Urn, and drew out the Portion that fell to his Share. Or perhaps there was only one Urn, wherein were the several Portions of the Land, and they began, suppose with the eldest Son of *Israel*, *Reuben*, and pulling out a Scroll, said, This is the Portion of *Reuben*; and so of the rest. But which way soever they proceeded, there were two Distributions made, one of the whole Country into twelve Parts, and another of each of those Parts among the several Families that were in each Tribe. For this purpose *Joshua* number'd the Families in every Tribe, and according to the Number of Persons gave to every Family a certain Proportion of Lands, and exactly

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actly prescrib'd the Bounds of them. This *Agrarian* Law was appointed by *Moses*, before the Land of *Canaan* was subdued; a Law, whereby all the Possessors were restrain'd from transferring their full Property unto another, by Sale, or any sort of Contract whatsoever; for those who were forc'd by Poverty to sell their Land, had a Right allow'd them to redeem it at any time; and they who were unable to redeem it, receiv'd it freely again at the Feast of Jubilee.

The Northern Parts of the Country were given to the Tribe of *Aser*, *Nepthali*, *Zabulon*, and *Issachar*; the middle Parts to that of *Ephraim* and the half of *Manasseh*; the Southern Parts to those of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, *Dan*, and *Simeon*; and the Country beyond *Jordan*, to those of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the other half of *Manasseh*. *Levi*, which makes a thirteenth Tribe, being selected for the special Service of God, was dispers'd among all the other Tribes, had forty-eight Cities, the Tenths of all the Profits of the Land, with many other great Advantages and Privileges; and by that means was more liberally provided for than the rest of the Tribes: but tho' they had no whole Country allotted to them, as the others had, yet in the Countries afterwards subdu'd by some Kings of *Israel*, they had their Portion assigned them with the rest of the *Hebrews*. Thus did the *Hebrews* take possession of the promis'd Land, which had been assur'd to them by the Word of God about four hundred and seventy Years before. The *Talmudists*, when they speak of the *Holy Land*, particularly mention the solemn Consecration of it: They tell us, that when *Joshua* took Possession of the Country, he solemnly consecrated all the wall'd Cities. This they call *the first Entrance*: But when the People were captivated by the *Babylonians*, and carry'd beyond *Euphrates*, the Country became defiled; and therefore, after the Return of the *Jews*, *Ezra* the High-Priest by a solemn Act restored Sanctity to the Land; and that was the second Entrance.

Cunæus de Rep. Heb. lib. 1. cap. 7.

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The Country was again profan'd by the *Roman* Conqueſt; but they vainly imagine that the *Meſſiah*, whoſe coming they expect, ſhall ſubdue the Land, and reſtore it to its Purity by a third Conſecration, which they call the third Entrance. Whatever may be thought of theſe Traditions, it is generally believ'd that the *Holy Land* retain'd a peculiar Excellency above other Countries; inſomuch that the Republick of the *Hebrews* was confined within the Bounds of it; for had the People been removed out of their proper Seats, and another Government ſet up, under the Diſcipline of the Moſaical Laws, it is ſuppoſed that the Country would have been eſteem'd impure, nor would there have been any peculiar Sanctimony in the Inhabitants.

Under this Diviſion the *Holy Land* continued, till the Apoſtacy of the Ten Tribes from the Houſe of *David*, and then it was diſtinguiſh'd by the Kingdom of *Judah* and the Kingdom of *Iſrael*: The Kingdom of *Judah* contain'd all the Southern Parts of the Land, and about a fourth of the whole, being about a hundred Miles in Length and ſixty in Breadth, conſiſting of the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and ſo much of *Dan* and *Simeon* as lay intermix'd with *Judah*; its royal City being *Jeruſalem* in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. The Kingdom of *Iſrael* included all the Northern and middle Parts of the Land, together with the Country beyond *Jordan*, conſiſting of the reſt of the Tribes; the royal City, during the time of this Kingdom's Continuance, being *Samaria* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, not much above thirty Miles North Eaſt of *Jeruſalem*. But this Diſtinction ceaſed, when *Salmaneſſer*, the King of *Aſſyria*, carry'd the Ten Tribes away captive, and planted other Nations in their room.

The *Holy Land* falling under the Dominion of the *Syrian* Kings, received another Name, and was called *Paleſtine*, from the *Philiſtines*, a powerful Nation in thoſe Parts; a Name firſt found in the Hiſtory of *Herodotus*, but generally uſed in

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Book I. succeeding Times by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The Country was then divided into these five distinct Provinces, three on the West side, and two in the Country beyond *Jordan*: 1. *Galilee*, the most Northern Province, bordering upon *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and containing the old Habitation of the four Tribes of *Aser*, *Nepthali*, *Zabulon*, and *Issachar*; being divided into the Upper and Lower, and about 85 Miles in Length, and 70 in Breadth. 2. *Samaria*, on the South of *Galilee*, and bordering upon the *Mediterranean Sea*, containing the old Settlement of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and half of *Manasseh*; being about 75 Miles long, and near 50 in Breadth. 3. *Judea*, South, or rather South-West of *Samaria*, containing the Territories of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, together with *Dan* and *Simeon*; being almost the same with the old Kingdom of *Judah*, and about 100 Miles in Length, and 60 in Breadth. Beyond *Jordan* were, 4. *Traconitis*, on the East of *Galilee*, bordering upon *Syria*, and containing the Country possess'd by the other half of *Manasseh*, being less fruitful than the rest, and about 70 Miles in Length, and 50 in Breadth. 5. *Peræa* (which Name was sometimes given to all that Country beyond *Jordan*) on the South of *Traconitis*, and East of *Samaria* and *Judea*, containing the Lands allotted to the two Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, and somewhat more; being about 110 Miles in Length, and near 60 in Breadth. This was the Division of the whole Land, which continued to our Saviour's Time, when another Province was added by the *Romans* to this Country, called *Idumæa*, which took in some of the Southern Parts of *Judæa*, and Part of *Arabia*. Of these five Provinces the *Jews* only possess'd that called *Judæa*, and for a considerable Space not all that, being hated and oppress'd by all their Neighbours; especially the powerful Nations of *Egypt* and *Syria*, two great Branches of the *Macedonian*, or *Grecian* Empire.

Compared

Compared with this, all Countries under Heaven were by the *Jews* esteemed polluted and unholy, except a part of *Syria*, by which they understand the Territory opposite to *Mesopotamia*, to the West of *Euphrates*, which was conquer'd by *David*, and added to the Kingdom of *Israel*. This Land was indulg'd some singular Privileges, it being an establish'd Rule, that to purchase an Estate in *Syria*, was the same as if it lay in the Suburbs of *Jerusalem*: It was oblig'd to pay Tithes, and bound to observe the Rights of the Sabbatical Year; but it was not allow'd to provide the two Wave Loaves to be offer'd at the Feast of *Pentecost*, and some other Oblations, that were peculiar to the Land of *Israel*: a Spot of Earth highly honoured by the Care of Providence, and esteem'd so sacred among the *Jews* in all Ages, long after their Dispersion, that in the time of *Adrian*, the *Roman* Emperor, it was prohibited by a publick Decree, ratified by the Senate's Consent, for any *Jew* to come even within the Sight of *Judæa*, lest the View of their native Soil should inspire them with some desperate Resolutions to endeavour their Settlement there again. But (says the Learned Dr. *Jackson*) herein he was unwittingly the Angel of God, to keep this wicked Race out of that Paradice, the good Land out of which he had driven them. Chap. 3.

CHAP. III.

The Inhabitants of the Holy-Land, Canaanites, Hebrews, Samaritans, Hellenists, Proselytes, *and* Jews.

THE original Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan* were the Posterity of *Cham*, who were branch'd out into several petty Kingdoms when the *Israelites* took Possession of the Country; neither could they be so wholly dislodg'd from their

Book I. their old Settlements, but that some of them, particularly the *Jebusites*, continued unsubdued till the time of *David* and *Solomon*, when all the Territories of the *Canaanites* were conquer'd, and fell under the Government of the *Hebrews*. The many Revolutions that follow'd in the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*, introduc'd a Mixture of several Nations; and from the preceding Account it will appear, that at the time of our Saviour's coming, the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, or *Palestine*, were a Composition of People both of Foreigners and native *Jews*. The *Jews* were but a Remnant of an often scatter'd, conquer'd, and captivated People, but two entire Tribes of twelve, and those tributary to *Herod*, and the *Romans*. The Foreigners who resided in this Country were principally *Grecians* and *Romans*, the former being the Reliques of the *Macedonian* Empire; and the latter, Magistrates, Governors, and Soldiers, to keep it in Obedience, and to receive the Tributes. The rest of the Inhabitants, tho' of many different Extracts, may principally be conceived under these two following Names, *Jews* and *Samaritans*, of whom, for Dispatch sake, I shall first take notice of the latter.

1. The *Samaritans* were principally Descendants of those *Assyrians* whom *Salmanasser* sent to inhabit the Kingdom of *Israel*, when he carry'd the ten Tribes captive, originally Pagans, and call'd *Cushites* by the *Jews*, either from the Name of their Country, or by way of Reproach. But mixing with the Remainder of the Tribes, and being punish'd with Lions, and instructed by some *Israelitish* Priests, they gradually receded from their Pagan Idolatries, and after the *Babylonian* Captivity, they became zealous in the Worship of the true God. They were circumcis'd, offer'd Sacrifices, perform'd the Ceremonies of the Law, and expected the *Messiah*, who was to deliver them from all Calamities, and to teach them all things. Yet they never comply'd with Judaism any farther than to own the five Books of *Moses*, rejecting all the rest that are in the *Jewish* Canon; and these

five

five Books are still preserv'd written in the old *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* Character, and were brought among them by *Manasseh*, and those Apostate *Jews* that came over with him and settled in *Samaria*. And tho' they had Priests and Sacrifices like the *Jews*, yet they would not allow *Jerusalem* to be the Place of publick Worship; and therefore to divert the common People from the Temple of God, by the means of *Sanballat*, a great Prince of their Nation, they erected another Temple of great Magnificence upon Mount *Gerizim*, near *Sichem*, and not far from *Samaria*; imitating the Policy, tho' not the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, the first King of *Israel* after the Division. This Temple was built two hundred and four Years after the *Babylonian* Captivity, and three hundred thirty two before the Nativity of Christ, and prov'd a great weakning to the *Jewish* Church; for all profligate Wretches, Malefactors, and excommunicated Persons among the *Jews*, immediately repair'd to this Place, and join'd with the *Samaritan* Worship. This, with some former Resentments, occasion'd such violent Heats between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, tho' immediate Neighbours, that they would have no Commerce or Correspondence with each other, and one continually branded the other with the most reproachful Titles imaginable. About two hundred years after, the *Jews* growing powerful by the Valour of the *Maccabees*, the *Samaritans* were subdued by *John Hyrcanus*, who destroy'd *Samaria* and their Schismatical Temple, and confin'd them to the little Province of *Samaria* above describ'd. Yet this did not extinguish their Hatred and Prejudices; but they still kept Mount *Gerizim* for their Place of publick Worship, and continued their Schism till the final Destruction of both Nations by *Titus* the *Roman* Emperor. Chap. 3.

Because the *Samaritans* agreed with the *Sadducees* in rejecting Traditions, and keeping strictly to the written Word, from hence the *Jews* have taken occasion to calumniate them, as if they agreed in other Particulars with the *Sadducees*, and denied with them

Book I. them the Resurrection of the Dead, which led *Epiphanius* and St. *Gregory* into the Mistake of asserting this Opinion; whereas the Resurrection of the Dead has always been a Doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believ'd among them, as by the *Jews* themselves,

The *Samaritans* were divided into several Sects, more particularly these three: The *Dositheans*, the *Sebuæans*, and the *Gortheni*. 1. The *Dositheans* were so called from *Dositheus* or *Dosthai*, supposed to be the first Priest sent into this Country by the King of *Assyria*: These did eat nothing that had Life, like the *Pythagoreans*; abstained from Marriage, like the *Jewish Essenes*; and in the point of keeping the Sabbath exceeded the *Pharisees*, it being a Law among them, that in whatsoever Posture a Person was found in the Morning of the Sabbath, he ought to continue in the same the whole Day without Alteration. 2. The *Sebuæans*, so named from *Sebua* or *Sebuiah*, one of the Associates of *Dositheus*, who, tho' they kept the same publick Festivals with the *Jews*, and other *Samaritans*, yet observ'd not the same time, transferring the Passover to the Month of *August*, the Pentecost to *Autumn*, and the Feast of Tabernacles to the time of the Passover: For which reason they were not permitted to worship at the Temple of *Gerizim*. 3. The *Gortheni* kept the same Festivals, and observ'd the same Times of those Solemnities, as the Law required; but, contrary to the Law, they kept only one of the seven appointed Days, and neglected the rest as Days of ordinary Labour.

2. The *Jews* were most properly such as inhabited the Country of *Judæa*; but because in our Saviour's time all were called *Jews* who observed the Law of *Moses* and all the Prophets, we shall take notice of them in their full Extent, and under these three Denominations. 1. *Hellenists*; 2. *Proselytes*; and 3. *Jews* in a proper Sense, who are often called by the Name of *Hebrews*.

1. The *Hellenists* or *Grecizing Jews* were such as were real *Jews* by Descent and Profession; but living

ving dispers'd in almost all Parts of the *Roman* Empire; they made use of the *Greek* Tongue, the most general Language of that Age, in their publick Offices of Religion, and also the Septuagint's Translation of the Old Testament; for which reason they were called *Hellenists*, in opposition to the other *Jews*, who in their Worship made use of the *Hebrew* Tongue only. They are likewise called *Jews* of the Western Dispersion, occasion'd principally by the Oppressions of the *Egyptians* and *Syro-Macedonians*, and were very numerous, especially in *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*. These were as superstitious in their Sabbath, as tenacious of their Circumcision, and of other Rites and Ceremonies of their Law, as the *Jews* of *Palestine*; for which reason they were continually despised and hated by the *Romans* and *Grecians*, and other *Gentiles*, among whom they resided. Yet, notwithstanding their Strictness, they were not thoroughly esteemed by the *Hebrew Jews*, but reckon'd by them as *Jews* of an inferior Rank, upon the account of the Heathen Language they used, and the Heathen Countries they inhabited. Chap. 3.

The *Proselytes* were such as were *Gentiles* by Birth and Descent, but conform'd themselves to the *Jewish* Customs, and were admitted into their Religion. And these were of two distinct kinds; one called *Proselytes* of the Covenant, and the other *Proselytes* of the Gate. The first were accounted as real, tho' but adopted *Jews*, bound to the same Observances with them, and convers'd as freely with them as if they had been so born; neither might they eat, drink or deal with the *Gentiles* more than the other, lest they became unclean. They worship'd in the same Court of the Temple with the *Hebrews*, where others were prohibited Entrance, and were Partakers with them in all Privileges both Divine and Humane. In short, they differ'd nothing from the *Jews*, but only that they were of *Gentile* Race. The usual way of the *Jews* making these *Proselytes* was by Circumcision, Baptism and Sacrifice, if they were Males; and by only Baptism

and Sacrifice, if Females; for it is certain that Baptism was an ancient Custom among the *Jews* for many Ages before our Saviour appear'd in the World. The *Proselytes* of the Gate were such *Gentiles* as were admitted to the Worship of the God of *Israel*, and the Hopes of a future Life, but were not circumcis'd, nor yet conform'd to the *Mosaical* Rites, being only oblig'd to the Observation of those Precepts which the *Hebrew* Doctors call the seven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*, and are recorded under these following Titles: First, to renounce Idols, and all Idolatrous Worship; Secondly, to worship the true God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth; Thirdly, to commit no Murther; Fourthly, not to be defiled with Fornication, Incest, or other impious Mixtures; Fifthly, to avoid all Rapine, Theft, and Robbery; Sixthly, to administer Justice; Lastly, not to eat the Flesh with the Blood in it, a Precept given to *Noah* when he came out of the Ark, that is, not to eat the Flesh of any Beast taken from it when it was alive; by which all Cruelty was forbidden. These *Proselytes*, tho' they were admitted to worship in the Temple, yet because they were uncircumcis'd, they were so far look'd upon as *Gentiles*, as not to be received into the same Court with the *Proselytes* of the Covenant, but were esteemed unclean, and had their particular Court assign'd them in their Worship of God, which was call'd the Court of the *Gentiles*, and of the Unclean; nor were they permitted to dwell in the City of *Jerusalem*.

In the Synagogues likewise which the *Jews* had in many Cities and Places of the *Gentiles*, these *Proselytes* worship'd the God of *Israel*, and heard the Law and the Prophets expounded, but always in a distinct Place by themselves. In the New Testament the *Proselytes* of the Covenant are simply call'd *Proselytes*; the *Proselytes* of the Gate were distinguish'd by the Name of Worshippers, and were much more numerous in all Parts of the *Roman* Empire than the former. Their Conditions were more free and unconfin'd, and their Precepts more easy and natural

natural than the other; and their Principles fitting them for the Reception of the Gospel, they became the most apparent Cause of the first great spreading of Christianity. Chap. 3.

The *Jews* in a more proper Sense were so called from *Judah*, the most powerful Tribe; and had likewise the Name of *Hebrews*, from *Heber*, the Son of *Selah*, one of the Ancestors of *Abraham*. These principally lived in that Part of *Palestine* called *Judæa*, were governed by the Law of *Moses*, and embraced the whole Canon of the Old Testament, from the Book of *Genesis* to the Prophecy of *Malachi*. These were the Persons with whom our Saviour was pleas'd chiefly to converse, at a remarkable time, when they were but the Relicks, and even the Dregs of an often broken, and then detested Generation; when to be a *Jew* was a Name of Disgrace, and to be circumcised a Mark of Infamy; so that then they might well be called a peculiar People, not only because God separated them from all other Nations, but because all other Nations abhorr'd and avoided all Friendship and Correspondence with them: They were abandon'd by God to the Cruelty of every Tyrant and Conqueror, till they became a Proverb, a Curse, and a Hissing over the Face of the whole Earth.

CHAP. IV.

A general View of the different Forms of Government among the Hebrews; Patriarchal, Judicial, Monarchical, *and* Sacerdotal.

ALL Government being originally founded upon Patriarchal Power, the *Hebrews*, before they were formed into a Republick, were governed by the Fathers of their several Families: and it is certain that they, and their First-born after

Book I. them, did exercise all kind of Authority both Ecclesiastical and Civil: They had a Power by Divine Right to bless the Family, to offer Sacrifice, and to punish with Death.

This may be call'd the Infancy of Government among the *Hebrews*, and continued till they multiplied exceedingly, and became a numerous People in the Land of *Egypt*. In this Country, so long as they enjoy'd the Favour of the *Egyptian* Kings, it is supposed by the learned *Bertram* that they were govern'd by publick Magistrates of their own Nation, who were commission'd with a Legislative and Executive Power, but still in Subserviency to the establish'd Laws and Customs of the Country in which they lived. When the *Hebrews* fell into Disgrace, and were oppress'd with Servitude, they had Task-masters and *Egyptian* Prefects set over them, who harrass'd them, and made them Slaves, till they were freed from this Bondage by the Conduct of *Moses*, who led them into Liberty, and fixed them under a more regular Dispensation.

De Rep. Hebr. cap. 4.

The Right of Primogeniture now ceased; and as *Aaron* and his Posterity were invested with the Title of Priests, so *Moses* introduced a new Form of Civil Government, and ruled with a sort of Monarchical Authority, and is expressly call'd a *King*. For the first Year after the *Hebrews* came out of *Egypt*, *Moses* sustain'd the whole Weight of the Administration by himself, and deliver'd Justice to the People; but by the Advice of *Jethro*, his Father-in-law, he deputed some part of his Power; and to ease himself of some of the Burthen, he constituted inferior Judicatories, which were greater, or lesser, according to the Division of their several Tribes into Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, or Tens; and appointed a competent number of Persons, who were presented to him by the People, to preside in these greater or lesser Courts. There were four Orders of these Rulers, as they are called; but whether there was a Subordination of the lower Order to the higher, is hard to determine. Their Business was to sit every Day,

Day, some or other of them, in their several Districts, and to hear all sorts of Causes, which, if they were able, they were to decide; but if the Matter was intricate, and hard to determine, they were to represent the Case to *Moses*, who was to pronounce a final Sentence upon it. Besides the Authority committed to these Rulers, there was some Power retained by the Heads of the Tribes, and the chief Fathers of the Families: The first of these were the principal Governors of every Tribe, descended in a direct Line from the Patriarch who was the Founder of the Tribe, and were a sort of Nobles in the *Hebrew* Republick, and the great Counsellors in the State. They had twelve Seats fixed for them, where they administer'd Justice, and took care of the Concerns of the several Tribes: They had some share in the Civil Government; for when *Joshua* swore that he would not destroy the *Gibeonites*, the League was ratified by a solemn Oath taken by the Princes of the Tribes, called the Princes of the Congregation. The chief Fathers of Families were the eldest of every Family; for as the *Hebrew* People were divided into twelve Tribes, so the several Tribes were divided into Families, and those had every one a Patriarch, or Chief: They had Power to convene their several Families, to preside in their Assemblies, to lead them out to War, and to decide Causes of a less Moment in Courts of Justice. Chap. 4.

Nor was the People without some small Shew of Power in the *Hebrew* Republick: They were often conven'd by Sound of two Silver Trumpets, and assembled by the Command of the supreme Magistrate, whether Judge or King, and admitted into Consultation, and to hear Debates in Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil; and testified their Consent by holding up their Hands, and loud Acclamations. *Bertram* contends, that the Commons in the *Jewish* State were invested with a great share of Power; and says, it was a mixed Government, like ours, consisting of the King, the Nobility, and the People; De Rep. Hebr. cap. 12.

Book I. but there are good Arguments againſt this Opinion, which is generally exploded by learned Men. The Form of Government, notwithſtanding this Deputation of Power, continued Monarchical, and was lodg'd in *Moſes*, who was ſupreme under God in all Cauſes Sacred and Civil.

But the Aſſiſtance of theſe lower Judicatories could not make the Adminiſtration ſo eaſy to *Moſes*, but that he was forc'd to ſupplicate God for more Help; for the People were ſo litigious, and given to mutiny, that he was unable to diſpatch all the Appeals made to him; and therefore he had ſeventy Elders appointed him as Coadjutors, who heard and abſolutely determined Cauſes of the greateſt Moment, and were inveſted almoſt with an Equality of Power with *Moſes* himſelf; otherwiſe they would have been of ſmall Service to him, under the Preſſure of the publick Cares, unleſs their Deciſions had been final, and beyond the reach of an Appeal. This College of Seventy were elected by Lot, and are ſuppoſed to have been choſen out of the leſſer Courts, that were erected by the Advice of *Jethro*. They were indued with a Prophetick Spirit upon their Ordination, the better to anſwer the Ends of Government, and to eſtabliſh their Authority among the People; but this divine Gift, it is thought, attended them no longer than the firſt Day of their Inſtitution; nor was it ever beſtow'd upon their Succeſſors, when they became a ſtanding Court, to judge the laſt Reſult of all Cauſes concerning the Law, and to ſettle all Matters of Right that could not be determined by the Letter of it. The Government now receiv'd a ſmall Change, and admitted a kind of Ariſtocracy, retaining ſtill the greateſt ſhare of Monarchical Power.

This Form continued during the Adminiſtration of the *Judges*, whoſe Authority was perhaps more properly that of a General of an Army, than the Governor of a Nation: They were abſolute and independent, inveſted with the higheſt Authority, being equal to Kings, but without the Royal

State

State or Equipage: They sate in Judgment, and determin'd Causes, but those of the greatest Moment; for though the Judiciary Courts were ordinarily the supreme Judges of Controversies, yet the Judge, when God raised one up, was endued with an extraordinary Power above theirs, to whom the People therefore applied for his Decision; for as all ordinary Magistrates among the *Romans* gave way to a Dictator, when they had one, so all the *Hebrew* Magistrates did to such a Judge when God appointed him, who determined all manner of Controversies that were brought before him, as at other times the other Judges, whether Priests or others, were used to do. They were commonly elected by the Voice of the People, who never chose a Judge but in great Troubles and imminent Dangers; which being overcome, they, like the *Roman* Dictators, retired to a private Life. This Office was not hereditary, but conferr'd upon the Person who was most accomplish'd, and best able to answer the Exigencies of the State. There was no Solemnity of Inauguration when a Judge was elected; he was allow'd no Ensigns of Sovereignty, he was neither anointed, nor crown'd; nor did one of them assume a royal Diadem, except *Abimelech*, who was complimented with the Title of a King among the *Shechemites*. Chap. 4.

The *Hebrews* at length grew weary of this kind of Government, and in a mutinous manner demanded a King: God complied with their Humours, and so a Monarchy was introduc'd, but exceedingly mild and temperate, if the Prince ruled by the establish'd Laws. This Form expired, when the King and Kingdom were subdued, and the Inhabitants carried to *Babylon*, after it had stood about five hundred Years.

Upon the Return of the *Jews* from their Captivity, the Government was no longer Regal, but rather Sacerdotal, the High-Priest having the greatest Authority; but the greatest Power was retained by the *Sanhedrim*, or Great Council of the

Book I. Nation. The Sacerdotal Form continued, without any noted Intermiſſion, about the Space of four hundred and twenty Years.

The Regal Government was again introduc'd by *Ariſtobulus*, one of the Succeſſors of the *Maccabees*, and remained free and independent not above forty-ſix Years; at which time *Pompey the Great*, General of the *Romans*, coming down like a Torrent upon the Eaſt, ſubdued the Country, and *Paleſtine* became a Province of the *Roman* Empire.

CHAP. V.

The Monarchy of the Hebrews; *the Inauguration of their Kings; the Form of Anointing, Proclaiming, and Crowning; the royal Guards,* Cerethites *and* Pelethites; *the Enſigns of Majeſty, Officers of State, and the Extent of Regal Power in Things Civil and Sacred.*

WHEN the *Hebrews* had obtain'd Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, they reſolv'd to change the Form of Government, which was a kind of Ariſtocracy, or rather a Theocracy, as the Fathers call it, and mutinouſly cry'd out to *Samuel*, who was then the ſupreme Judge under God, to conſtitute a King over them, who ſhould fight their Battels, and live in the ſame Pomp and Splendor with the Eaſtern Kings: They durſt not preſume to ſet up a King themſelves; for none had Power to make a King but God, who was their Sovereign. The Prophet with great Regret complied with their Demand; but God reſented the Indignity offer'd to himſelf by this Revolution; and though he foreſaw when they were in the Wilderneſs, that they would grow weary of his Government, and throw off his Yoke, and therefore he gave ſome Di-

rections

rections concerning the future Monarchy, yet it was absolutely against his Approbation that the Government should be chang'd; and as a Testimony of his Anger, the first King he appointed over them was a cruel and haughty Prince: and it is the general Opinion of the Rabbis, that Monarchy was the Ruin of the *Hebrew* State. Chap. 5.

It was not the divine Will, says one of them, that any other King should be in *Israel* but himself; for the most Highest was their King, who walketh in the midst of their Camps, and providently attends to the most minute Circumstances of their Affairs. Nor did they stand in need of any other King; for what should the chosen People, whose King was the Lord of the Universe, do with a King who was merely Flesh and Blood? It is written, *I gave thee a King in mine Anger*, which was *Saul* the first King; *and I took him away in my Wrath*, who was *Zedekiah* the last, that was taken away by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the *Babylonish* Captivity. But some *Jews* are of opinion, that it was an express Command that the *Hebrews* should erect a regal Government when they came into *Canaan*, and were quietly possess'd of it: And accordingly they have presumed to make this an affirmative Precept, *That a King of the People should be chosen*, to which some learned Men among Christians seem to incline. But this is expressly oppos'd by *Josephus*, who observes, that God intended that they should retain their present Form: "They ought not, says "he, to affect any other Government, but love "the present, having the Laws for their Master, "and living according to them, for it is sufficient that God is their Ruler; but if they desire to have a King, let him be one of their "own Nation."

R. Bechai ad Parsch. Schoph. col. 6.

Hos. 13. 11.

Lib. 1. Antiq. cap. 8.

This new erected Monarchy was absolute, and unrestrained by humane Laws, and the King had the same Extent of Power with the other Princes of the East; for it was the Desire of the *Hebrews* to be govern'd as their Neighbours were, who were

subject

Book I. subject to the uncontroul'd Dominion of their Kings. The *Talmudists*, indeed, would have it believ'd, that the regal Power was in many Instances subservient to the Jurisdiction of the *Sanhedrim*: But this is a mere Invention of the *Jewish* Doctors, to magnify the Authority of their Great Council; for as *Samuel* consulted with no Person in making a King, but God alone; so when he was made, he obtain'd such a Power, that it was impossible for the High-Court to controul him. It is evident that the *Hebrew* Kings exercis'd the very Power which is ascrib'd to the College of Seventy; particularly, it is notorious that *Solomon* depriv'd *Abiathar*, which (as the *Talmudists* say) is a Judgment belonging only to the Sanhedrim, and fill'd up the Vacancy in the Priesthood. Nor are we to give credit to those Rabbis, who relate that a King was always constituted by a Majority of the Seventy; for the first King was appointed by God himself, who at length intended that the Kingdom should be hereditary, and descend by successive Right in that Family which he was pleased to choose, so long as they continued in a constant Observation of his Laws.

Before the *Israelites* were possess'd of the Promis'd Land, God laid down some Injunctions concerning the future Monarchy, which the People and the Kings were to observe as fundamental and establish'd Rules of Government. It seems necessary first to explain these Precepts, and then to proceed regularly, by inquiring into the several Ceremonies, Powers, and Privileges, and other Particulars relating to the Government of the *Hebrew* Kings.

Deut. 17. 16, &c. The first Command was, *One from among thy Brethren shalt thou set over thee:* He was, as some understand the Precept, to be an *Israelite* by Father and Mother; tho' others think it sufficient if the King was an *Israelite* by the Mother's side, which was a Qualification for any Dignity, but only the Priesthood. All Females were excluded from

from the Succeſſion, as *Maimonides* concludes from the Words of the Law, which ſpeak of a *King* only; nor was any Perſon of mean Extraction, or of a mechanical Employment, admitted to Government, ſuch being generally of a ſordid and mercenary Diſpoſition, and unable to ſupport the Dignity of Majeſty among the People. Chap. 5. Hil. Melach. c. 1. v. 6.

He ſhall not multiply Horſes. There is no certain Number determin'd; but the *Jews* well reſolve, that he was not to keep them for Pomp and Grandeur, or for the Purpoſes of War, leſt the People ſhould be burthen'd with Taxes for the Support of them: He was allow'd no more than were for Uſe and Service, to draw his Chariot for Inſtance, and for the Guard of his Perſon. Among the *Hebrews* their Armies conſiſted altogether of Footmen, there being no Breed of Horſes in that Country; and their People, who were all Husbandmen and Shepherds, were accuſtom'd to labour, and to run with great Swiftneſs. It is certain, that in the Days of *David* they had no Horſemen in their Army; for when *Abſalom* loſt the Battle and fled, he rode upon a Mule, and endeavour'd to make his Eſcape. And though *Solomon* was ſo prodigiouſly rich, that he was able to maintain forty thouſand Stalls of Horſes for his Chariots, and twelve thouſand Horſemen; yet ſucceeding Kings were unable to anſwer ſuch Expence; but when they had occaſion, they ſent for Succours to *Egypt*. For which reaſon the next Precept was,

Nor cauſe the People to return to Egypt, *to the end that he ſhould multiply Horſes.* The King was forbidden to ſend his Subjects thither to buy Horſes for him, it being a Country which abounded with them, as *Judea* did with Aſſes. He might have had Horſes from other adjacent Places, but not ſo conveniently; nor were they of ſo good a Breed, or ſo fit for Service; which made *Solomon* ſend thither; and *Pharaoh* ſet a great Price upon them; becauſe he knew their Value, and that the

Book I. the King could not so easily furnish himself with them from other Countries. This Command, concerning a Return into *Egypt*, is supposed by some *Jews* to be no more than a temporary Constitution, which was at length to be out of Force: Others distinguish about the Way of returning thither, conceiving that they might not go into that Country out of the Land of *Israel*; but they might out of any other Part of the World whither they were driven. *Maimonides* thinks that they might correspond and trade thither in the Capacity of Merchants, but were not allow'd to abide or settle there. But the true Meaning seems to be, that they were forbidden to go thither voluntarily upon any account, lest, while the *Egyptians* were so corrupt in their Religion and Manners, they should be seduced into Profaneness, and the forbidden Worship of strange Gods.

Neither shall he multiply Wives to himself. This is not a Prohibition to take more Wives than one, but not to have an excessive Number, after the manner of the Eastern Kings. The *Jews* suppose that he was allowed eighteen; but the Proof they give is very weak and inconclusive, which is, that *David* having already six Wives, the Prophet tells him, that if he had not offended God, he would moreover have given him *such* and *such* things; that is, say they, twice as many Wives. Much less is there any Ground for what they urge, that if he took more than this Number, he was to be scourg'd by the Authority of the Sanhedrim; for there is no Example in the whole Scriptures of any such Jurisdiction which the Great Council exercised over the Persons of the *Hebrew* Kings.

2 Sam. 5. 13.

Nor shall he greatly multiply to himself Silver and Gold. No more, says the Sanhedrim, than would pay Stipends to his Servants, and answer the moderate Exigencies of his Court: He was allow'd to lay up Money in the Treasury at the Temple for the Occasions of the State, but was forbidden

to

to fill his own Coffers for his private Interest, lest he should squeeze his Subjects, and exact more of them than they were able to bear. Chap. 5.

When he sitteth on the Throne of the Kingdom, he shall write him a Copy of this Law in a Book. He was obliged to write the whole Mosaical Law with his own Hand, to fix it the more deeply in his Mind; so that though a Copy was left him by his Father, he was notwithstanding to transcribe one himself; but whether he was bound, if he had not written a Copy before he was King (as the Rabbis say every private *Israelite* was bound to do) to write two when he sate on the Throne, may be doubted. He was not to write one Word of it out of his Memory merely, or any private Man's Copy, but out of the Book which was in the Sanctuary, where the Original and uncorrupted Copy was preserv'd. This Book the King was obliged to carry with him wherever he went, and to study and meditate upon the Contents of it. From the Neglect of this Precept, the *Hebrew* Kings became so ignorant of the divine Laws, and of their Obligation to observe them, that in the Days of the good King *Josiah*, he was strangely surprised at what he heard read out of this Book of the Law, when it was found in the Temple, where it had long lain without any Knowledge of it. Gemar. Sanhed. cap. 2. sect. 13.

The *Hebrew* Kings were not only bound to transcribe the Book of the Law for their own Use, but they were obliged, upon the first Holy Day in the Feast of the Tabernacles, to read the Law themselves to as many as could conveniently hear them; appointing the Priests and the Levites to read it in as many other Assemblies of the People as were necessary for the fulfilling of this Precept: In order to which a Pulpit of Wood was erected upon the first Day of the Feast; and the King going up into it, the Minister took the Book of the Law and deliver'd it (in latter Times) to the Ruler of the Synagogue, who gave it to the *Sagan*, or Vicar of the High-Priest,

Book I. Prieſt, who deliver'd it to the High-Prieſt, and he to the King, who ſtood up to receive it: And theſe Ceremonies were uſed to expreſs the Reverence with which this Holy Book was deliver'd, and likewiſe the Regard with which they approached the King. The King, if he pleaſed, might ſit down to read; but it was eſteemed more honourable if he ſtood, as King *Agrippa* did when he perform'd this Office. Before he attempted to read, he made a Prayer to God, and beginning the Book of *Deuteronomy* (which is a Compendium of the Law) he proceeded, before he ſtop'd, to thoſe Words, Chap. 6. 4. *Hear, O* Iſrael, *&c.* which having alſo read, he omitted the reſt, till he came to Chap. 11. 13. *And it ſhall come to paſs, if thou wilt hearken diligently*, &c. reading on to the 22d Verſe; and then paſs'd to Chap. 14. 22. *And thou ſhalt truly tithe*, &c. reading on to the Section concerning the King, Chap. 17. 14. and then the Curſings and Bleſſings out of the 27th and 28th Chapters, till he had ended all that Section of the Law. The *Talmud* relates of King *Agrippa*, that when he was upon this Service, and came to read that Paſſage, *One from among thy Brethren thou ſhalt ſet King over thee*, his Eyes overflow'd with Tears, becauſe he was not of the Seed of the *Jews*; but the People comforted him, and cried out three times, *Fear not*, Agrippa, *thou art our Brother.*

This Office is called *The Reading of the King*; and it is reckoned by the *Jews* to be one of thoſe eight things that muſt indiſpenſibly be deliver'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue. The Ceremony was perform'd in the Court of the Men of *Iſrael*, if the King were of the Family of *David*; but if he were not, then in the Court of the Women. All the Women in *Jeruſalem* were bound to attend this Solemnity, with the Children who were capable of Inſtruction; nor were the Proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* Religion excluded, not the Proſelytes of the Gate, if they thought fit to come to their Aſſemblies. In compliance with this Precept we find

find that *Joshua*, the supreme Governor after the Death of *Moses*, did read all the Words of the Law, not omitting a Word that *Moses* commanded, before all the Congregation, with Women and the little ones, and the Strangers that were conversant among them. These Precepts being deliver'd before Monarchy was establish'd among the *Hebrews*, it was thought necessary, for the sake of Order, to explain the Design of them; and having thus open'd the Way, it will be the more easy to reduce into Method the several Ceremonies, Customs, Prerogatives, and other Particulars that belong to the Sovereignty, and were in use under the Regal Government of that Nation. Chap. 5.

The Monarchy of the *Hebrews* was not at first hereditary; for as God, the supreme Lawgiver, was pleas'd to appoint several of the Kings, so some of them reserv'd to themselves a Power to nominate a Successor, as appears particularly by the History of *Reboboam*, who, though a Prince of no great Command, yet took upon him this Authority, and fixed one of his youngest Sons in the Throne after him. This Custom, however, did not long prevail; for the Crown in a short time became hereditary, after the Example of the Eastern Kingdoms. But by whatever means they obtained the Empire, the first Rite of Inauguration, that pass'd upon the *Hebrew* Kings, was the Ceremony of anointing; a Custom not supported by divine Authority, but very ancient, and what likewise prevail'd in many other Nations. It is a Maxim among the *Jews*, that a King must be anointed in the open Air, near a Fountain; though they seem to have no Authority for it, but from the Story of *Solomon*, who was brought to *Gihon*, which was a Fountain or Brook near *Jerusalem*, where there appear'd a great Concourse of People to attend the Solemnity. There is another Reason given for this Practice in the *Talmud*, that it might be a Signification and good Omen of the Perpetuity of the Kingdom, which should continue like a Fountain, which runs perpetually.

But

But from the anointing of *Solomon* we cannot make a general Concluſion that all the *Hebrew* Kings were anointed at Fountains; for *Saul* the firſt King was not; and in the Hiſtory of *David*, who was anointed three times, there is no mention of it. This Ceremony (if we believe the *Jews*) was always perform'd by a Prophet; and there are many Inſtances in Scripture of this Practice; but it is difficult to prove it of univerſal Uſe: It ſeems rather as if a Prieſt had Power ſufficient to anoint a King, whoſe Title was clear and undiſputed; but when a Perſon was immediately deſign'd for Sovereignty by God, the Ceremony was always executed by a Prophet. Nor does it appear that the anointing Oil was always the ſacred Oil taken from the Tabernacle, but rather common; for *Samuel* was no Prieſt, and therefore had no Authority to uſe that which was kept there. The *Hebrew* Doctors believe that the Family of *David* had the Privilege to be anointed with the ſame Holy Oil with which the High-Prieſt was anointed; for though the Law appropriated it unto him, yet there was a Diſpenſation allow'd, which, they ſay, was revealed by ſome Prophet. It is certain that *Solomon* was anointed with Oil taken from the Tabernacle; only they conceive a Difference in the Form of anointing, the King being anointed in the Form of a Crown encircling his Head, in token that he was the Head of the People, and had the ſupreme Power committed to him; but the High-Prieſt in the Form of a Croſs, by one Line drawn with the Oil running down his Forehead, and by another drawn by the Oil between his Eyebrows. But whatever was the Form, it is ſuppoſed that the Ceremony itſelf was not of abſolute neceſſity. It was proper to anoint the firſt of the Family that was advanced to the Kingdom, but not any of his Children that ſucceeded him, unleſs upon occaſion of a Diſpute by a contrary Faction about the Point of Succeſſion; for had it not been for the Pretenſions of *Adonijah*, there had

had been no need of *Solomon*'s Unction. For the same reason was *Jehu* anointed; because the Succession to the Kingdom of *Israel* was to be transfuted out of the right Line of the Family of *Ahab* unto another Family; which had no Right, but only by divine Appointment. This Rite of anointing (as *Cunæus* observes) added a divine Majesty to the Kings, and made them sacred and ally'd unto God. The Chrismatory, wherein this Oil was kept, was a Viol, or Vessel, made with Horn, or of some richer Metal after that Figure. Chap. 5. De Rep. Hebr. lib. 1. cap. 14.

After the Ceremony of anointing, it is recorded that *Samuel* kissed *Saul*, in token of Subjection and Reverence. This the *Jews* call the *Kiss of Greatness*, or Majesty; and in our Language is stiled the *Kiss of Homage*; but whether this Custom prevailed in succeeding Times is not to be proved.

Then was the King proclaimed by a Herald by Sound of Trumpet, and conducted back into the City, amidst the Shouts and Acclamations of the Guards and the People, who clap'd their Hands in token of Joy, and playing upon musical Instruments, cry'd, *God save the King*. He was, on his Return, put in actual Possession of the Kingdom, by being placed upon a Throne, where no one but the King dared presume to sit, upon pain of Death. But if a King were proclaimed, another being in possession of the Throne, the Guards of the new Monarch, to supply the Want, would place him upon an Eminence, that he might appear higher than the rest of the People. Thus was *Jehu* acknowledg'd to be Sovereign by his Captains, who made a kind of Throne for him, by spreading their Cloaths under his Feet, and raising him above the Company about him.

The royal Diadem was then placed upon his Head, (which I suppose was kept in the Sanctuary) and the Book of the Law was put into his Hand: Then (as some learned Men imagine) he enter'd into a Covenant with God, to observe and keep his Commands; and into a Contract

Book I. with the People, to govern with Juſtice, and not to violate their Privileges: And on theſe Conditions the People took an Oath of Allegiance, and promis'd faithful Submiſſion. This Ceremony was concluded with many Sacrifices, and a ſplendid Feaſt, where the Nobles and the principal Officers were entertain'd with great State and Magnificence; and that no Sorrow might appear in a Time of univerſal Joy, all publick Executions were ſuſpended, and no Malefactor was to be put to Death.

The *Hebrew* Kings, in Imitation of the Eaſtern Monarchs, were conſtantly attended by a ſelect Number of Body Guards, who in Scripture are called *Cerethites* and *Pelethites*. Theſe were the conſtant Defenders of the royal Perſon, like the *Prætorian* Bands among the *Romans*; and called Keepers of the Body by *Joſephus*, who never departed from the Place where the King was. They had a peculiar Commander over them, were Men of comely robuſt Bodies, and of approved Fidelity. It is probable that they were ſelected out of a particular Nation or Family; for the *Cerethites* inhabited a Part of *Paleſtine*, and were indeed the ſame with the *Philiſtines*: The *Pelethites*, it is ſuppoſed, were a Family in *Iſrael*; for we find two of the Name of *Peleth* mentioned in Scripture, one of the Tribe of *Reuben*, another of *Judah*. Their Arms were Bows and Arrows, and Slings, if we may believe the *Chaldee* Interpreter, who calls them Archers and Slingers. The Number of them may be conjectur'd from the Targets and Shields of Gold that *Solomon* made, which were five hundred, and were for the Uſe of his Guard. They were properly the King's Domeſticks, and lay in a Guard-Chamber at the Entrance of the Palace, to be ready at the leaſt Notice, and on the moſt ſudden Occaſions. Beſides theſe, there was a Horſe-Guard to attend the King when he went abroad, conſiſting of the Flower of the *Hebrew* Youth, of tall and well proportion'd Bodies, with long Hair waving in the Wind,

Joſeph. lib. 8. cap. 2.

Wind, which in the Days of *Solomon* was powder'd every Day with Gold Duſt, and ſparkled ſurprizingly when the Sun's Rays ſhone upon it. Chap. 5.

The Diſtinctions of Majeſty were a Robe of State of the moſt coſtly *Tyrian* Purple, that was always worn on publick Solemnities; a Crown of Gold ſet round with precious Stones, and a Scepter of the ſame Metal.

The royal Throne, erected by *Solomon*, was a moſt noble Enſign of Majeſty: The Canopy of it made a half Circle over his Head; it was advanced to a juſt Height by ſix Steps, with Reſts on either Side to lean the Arms upon, which Stays had two Lions for their Supporters. Upon every Step a Lion ſtood reared up on each Side, as if he was falling upon his Prey. The Throne was made of Ivory, which was never heard of in *Jeruſalem* till the Time of *Solomon*, who perhaps brought Elephants out of *India*, and took care to have abundance of Ivory ſent with them. The whole was overlaid with Gold, not entirely ſo as to cover the Ivory (for then it might as well have been made of Wood) but ſtudded with it at proper Diſtances; which made the Throne, by ſuch a Mixture, appear more glorious and magnificent. Here the King ſate when he gave Audience to Embaſſadors, and adminiſter'd publick Juſtice to his People. There was another kind of Throne erected, of inferior Workmanſhip, called the *Covert* for the *Sabbath*: It was a cover'd Place, where the King ſate, in the Porch of the Temple, or at the Entrance of it, upon the *Sabbath*, or other great Solemnities, which were called by that Name. This was taken away by *Ahaz*, to expreſs his Hatred and Contempt of the *Sabbath*, and to promote idolatrous Worſhip among his Subjects. "The King only, and no Man elſe "(ſays *Maimonides*) might ſit in the Court of the "Temple in any Place; but this Privilege was "confin'd only to a King that was of the Fami-"ly of *David*." *Cunæus's* Comment upon theſe Words are; "That Court was divided by cer-

2 Kings 16. 18.

Cap. 1 in Hal. M-l &c. 7 Hal; Beth-Habb.

De Rep. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Book I.

" tain Spaces, one Part for the Priests, another " assigned for the People; yet the Priests could " not sit down, though within their own pre- " scribed Bounds: The Senators of the *Sanhedrim* " had Right to sit but only in the midst of that " Place where the profane Commonalty were. " Never did the more sacred Spaces of the Court " behold any Man sitting but the King, this be- " ing his Prerogative, as if he were nearer to " God than the Priests themselves, and a greater " President of Religion."

It was observ'd before, that the Power of the *Hebrew* Kings was absolute, and unlimited by humane Laws, yet in the general he was obliged to comply with the *Mosaick* Rites in common with the meanest of his Subjects. This unrestrained Authority was not to degenerate into Tyranny, or to the Oppression of his People; but he was bound to consult their Ease and Safety, and to promote their Happiness; for (as a great Rabbi remarks) as the Scriptures have provided that the King should be regarded with great Honour, obliging all to pay him Reverence; so it commands him to be lowly in Heart, and not to carry himself insolently. Let him be gracious and full of Clemency to Little and Great, so shall he go out and come in with the Love and good Wishes of them all. He had no right to change the Laws on pretence of making better, nor to abrogate them on pretence of Inconveniency; but where the divine Law was not clear, or where nothing was there defined, he might, by his own Authority, make new Constitutions, as well in Sacred Matters as in Civil. The Power of Life and Death was lodg'd in his Hands; he could make Peace, or declare War; though the *Jews* say, that he could not enter upon a War, unless upon absolute Necessity, without the Consent of the *Sanhedrim*. He could press Soldiers for the Service, when the publick Good, or his own Grandeur requir'd; and to maintain his royal Expences, he could demand Contributions

when

when the State was distress'd, impose Customs, and when the Tithes, and other Oblations, were paid, he could exact the Tenth of what remained of all his Subjects. The publick Revenue was at his Disposal; and when the Treasury was deficient, and could not answer the Exigences of the State, he could alienate the Ornaments of Gold and Silver that belong'd to divine Worship, concluding, that the Safety of the Publick was the supreme Law: But when a Prince was driven by necessity to make use of Things sacred, they were usually restor'd or made good out of the Spoils of War, or as soon as his Abilities would otherwise permit. But notwithstanding this Extent of Power, he had no Authority over the Lands of his People; he could not give away any Part of *Palestine* to another Prince, nor seize upon the private Estates of his Subjects; for the Law of *Moses* prohibited the Alienation of Lands from one Tribe or Family to another, unless a Man was reduc'd to Poverty, in which Case he might sell it till the Jubilee; then it was to return to him; but Ground belonging to the royal Palace was never to be recover'd. Indeed, when a Man was executed for Treason, his Estate fell to the King, against whom the Crime was committed; though some Men of Learning imagine, that the King took Possession only for want of Heirs to inherit, the Children of the Malefactor being condemn'd with him. The Privileges of the *Hebrew* Kings are thus briefly collected by the learned *Reland.* " He does not judge, nor is he judg'd " he does not give Testimony, nor is Testimony " given concerning him; he does not deliver his " Shoe, nor do others do it upon the account of " his Wife; he is not bound by the Law that " relates to a Brother's Wife, nor is his Wife " obliged. No private Person shall marry his " Widow. If a Neighbour dies, he does not go " out of his Palace; he lies upon his Couch at " a Funeral Feast, but the People upon the " Ground; he makes War by the Advice of " the

Chap. 5.

§ Antiq. Sac. vet. Heb. par. 2. cap. 8.

Book I.

" the *Sanhedrim*; he opens a Way where he " pleases when he is upon a Journey, and makes " the Road as broad as he will. The Spoils of " War are laid before him; he chuses first, and " may take half if he thinks fit; he may not " have above eighteeen Wives; he must not " breed many Horses, nor multiply to himself " Silver or Gold; he is to write the Book of " the Law, and carry it with him to War, and " read it at home, and have it about him in the " Place of Judgment, and at Table. No one " must ride upon his Horse, nor sit upon his " Throne, nor handle his Scepter, nor see him " naked, nor when he is shav'd, nor when he is " wash'd."

The better to support the regal Dignity, the *Hebrew* Princes appointed Officers of State, which they used as Counsellors, and to ease them of the 2 Chron. 19. 11. Cares of Government. The Principal of these was a Vice-roy, who was *next to the King*, and usually determin'd all Matters that were to be decided by the Civil Statutes of the Realm. *Solomon* 1 Kings 4. 2, 3, &c. appointed three Secretaries of State, who had each of them their several Employments: One was concern'd in Matters of Judgment; the Business of the second was to regulate the Revenue; and the third was a publick Register, whose Office was to write Annals, and to preserve and digest the Records of the Kingdom. He had a Master of Requests, to hear all Causes, and to represent them to him. There was a Generalissimo of all the Forces, who sometimes was anointed with the holy Oil, that he might be inspired with Courage, by considering that he fought as a sacred Person; a Lord High-Chamberlain, who admitted and displac'd Officers in the Family; and a Minister of State, who was emphatically call'd *the King's Friend*, who was a Privy-Counsellor, and entrusted with the Management of all secret Affairs. A Person was placed over the Tribute that was imposed upon the People for the Support of the Government; and it is sup-

posed

posed that he had the Care of levying Men as well as Money. The Country of *Palestine* being divided into twelve Parts, there were so many Persons constituted to buy Provisions for the King and his Family at the best hand, and every thing in its proper Season. The Provision was sent to the Place, where the King resided, by every one in his Month. By this means there was great Plenty for all that belong'd to the Court, for the Stable of Horses and Domesticks, and for all Foreigners that came there about Business, who were entertain'd without any Grievance to the People. Over these twelve Officers was one appointed, who was their Overseer, and examin'd their Accounts. There were many other Officers of an inferior Order, that are to be found in the Courts almost of all Princes, and therefore will not be mentioned in this Place. Chap. 5.

Nor was the Civil Jurisdiction of the *Hebrew* Monarchs less supreme and absolute in Matters of Religion; but they had no Right to invade or exercise the spiritual Powers and Offices of the Priesthood. "It was a Statute, says *Maimonides*, "that the Chief-Priest should reverence the "King, and yield him his Place to sit in, and "himself stand when the King came to him. "The King standeth not in the Presence of the "Priest, unless when he consults the *Urim* after "the most solemn manner." And such is the Dignity of the King, that even the Prophet himself, as oft as he comes into his Presence, bows himself down to the Earth, as it is written, Nathan *the Prophet came before the King, and to honour him fell upon his Face to the Ground.* In Halucha Melachim, cap. 2.

CHAP. VI.

The Civil Conſiſtories *among the* Hebrews. *The Inſtitution of the* Great Sanhedrim, *their Authority and Juriſdiction, with an Account of the lower* Courts *of Judicature.*

THE firſt Inſtitution of Magiſtracy in the *Hebrew* Republick was derived from *Moſes*, who, to relieve himſelf under the Cares of Government when he was in the Wilderneſs, appointed a certain Number of ſelect Men, whom he called *Rulers*, and commiſſion'd to hear all Cauſes; and if any were too difficult for them to determine, they were to be referr'd to his own abſolute Deciſion. Theſe Judges conſtituted greater and leſſer Judicatories, according to the Diviſion of the ſeveral Tribes into Thouſands of Families, Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens; and a fixed Number of them were appointed to be Judges in thoſe leſſer or greater Courts. The Qualifications for this Office (as *Maimonides* obſerves) were Wiſdom, Humility, the Fear of God, Contempt of Riches, Love of Truth, a good Fame, and to be beloved of others: And there is Reaſon to believe that greater Abilities were requir'd in the Rulers over Thouſands, than in thoſe over Tens; as in the great *Sanhedrim* afterwards, the *Jews* make more Accompliſhments neceſſary to qualify Men for a Place in it, than were requiſite for thoſe in lower Courts. As the Quality of their Perſons and their Endowments made theſe Judges conſiderable, ſo they were dignified with the honourable Name of *Elders*; which had been a long time a Title of Honour among the *Jews*, and other Nations. They had Power to judge not only between one *Iſraelite* and another, but between an *Iſraelite* and a *Proſelyte*, whether he were received into the Covenant by Circumciſion or not; for of this

Halach. Sanh. cap. 4. ſect. 7.

this latter sort there were no doubt a great Number among the mixt Multitude that came out of *Egypt*; and while they were in the Wilderness, there were no distinct Judicatories for *Israelites* and *Proselytes*; but their Causes were heard in the same Courts. There were always attending upon these Judges a sort of Serjeants, or Executioners, (called in Scripture *Officers among the Tribes*) who according to the Sentence inflicted Penalties upon Malefactors. They carried (says *Maimonides*) Rods and Whips, and they stood before the Judges; they went about the Streets and Inns to inspect into Measures and Weights, and to punish every Offender they met with. Whatever they did was order'd by the Judges, and whomsoever they saw offending, they brought him to the Judges, and they judg'd him according to his Offence.

Chap. 6.

Deut. 1. 15.

Maim. in Sanhed. Per. 1.

But this ruling Magistracy was not by Divine Appointment; it was merely of Humane Institution; nor was it to continue (as our learned *Thorndike* notes) any longer than the Pilgrimage in the Wilderness. For notwithstanding those Judges decided Causes of small Moment, and in some measure eased *Moses* of the Weight; yet so many Appeals were lodged against their Decisions, and so many difficult Cases arose which they could not determine, that *Moses* by divine Command erected a College of *Seventy*, whose Decisions should be final, and whose Abilities were sufficient to determine the hardest Matters: They were to be a standing Court, to judge the last Result of all Causes concerning the Law, and to decide all Matter of Right and Property, that could not be determined by the Letter of it. It is supposed, that this Council (by way of Excellency called the *Sanhedrim*) were chosen out of the lesser Courts erected in the Wilderness, and consisted of Seventy, besides *Moses* (who was the President) because this was the Number of Persons that came with *Jacob* into *Egypt*, and (says a *Rabbi*) were a Prototype of this Number

Rights of the Church, chap. 2.

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Book I. in future Ages. The Qualifications neceſſary for Admiſſion into this great Judicatory, were Wiſdom, Underſtanding, Integrity, Courage, the Fear of God, Love of Truth, Hatred of Covetouſneſs, and Impartiality in Judgment: The Members were to be devout and religious, to be competently learned both in Arts and Languages, to be verſed in Phyſick, Arithmetick, Aſtronomy, Aſtrology, and to underſtand what belong'd to Magick, Sorcery, and Idolatry, that they might be qualified to know, and to judge of them. They were to be well deſcended, without Deformity or Blemiſh of Body; Men of Years, but not of extreme Age, leſt they ſhould be peeviſh and ſevere in Judgment; they muſt be Fathers of Children, to inſpire them with Sentiments of Humanity, Tenderneſs and Compaſſion: And that there might be a ſufficient Supply of able Men to ſucceed in the room of Judges that dy'd, there were young Men of noble Families inſtructed, whom they called the *Scholars of the Wiſe Men:* out of theſe they made their Election. At the firſt Inſtitution of this College by *Moſes*, the Seventy were aſſiſted with Divine Gifts of Wiſdom, Judgment and Courage; but when that Generation was expired, their Succeſſors were qualified for that Office by Education only, and acquired Learning.

This Judicatory conſiſted of Prieſts of the Tribe of *Aaron*, of *Levites* of the Tribe of *Levi*, and of *Iſraelites* that were Laymen, or (as they are called in the New Teſtament) *Prieſts*, *Scribes*, and *Elders*; but if *Prieſts* and *Levites* that were fitly qualified were not to be found, the Council might lawfully conſiſt of Men out of other Tribes. The High Prieſt, if he were a Perſon of great Abilities, was choſen into the Number; otherwiſe it was uſual to lay him aſide. For he was not admitted into the Senate by any Right of his own, but by Suffrages; nor were Strangers and Foreigners received into this Order, unleſs the Mother at leaſt was of *Jewiſh* Deſcent. Theſe

Judges

Judges were very profoundly learned in the *Mosaick* Law, and were generally most acute, diligent and curious Searchers of the Scripture; and notwithstanding they assumed to themselves more Knowledge than they really had, and thought that the mere outward Study of the Law would save them; yet their Diligence and Inquiries were real and constant to Admiration, and, for their indefatigable Labours, they were called *the very Foundations of the Law, and Pillars of Instruction.* But the Method made use of by these several Orders to display their Learning, and to communicate their Knowledge, was various. The Elders judged the People in Matters of Debate and Controversy, but never instructed them by preaching; the Priests judged and instructed; but it was more by resolving Questions, than by common preaching or Sermons. The *Scribes* were Preachers or Lecturers, that taught the People from the Pulpit, as well as determined upon Doubts and Controversies. When these Judges went abroad, they rode upon white Asses by way of Eminence and Distinction; for there were no Horses in *Judea*, but what were brought out of other Countries; and the Asses that were there were commonly of a red Colour; and therefore white Asses were highly valued, and used by Persons of superior Note and Quality. Chap. 6.

It has been before observ'd, that this supreme Court consisted originally of Seventy, besides *Moses*; and therefore after his Decease they always elected one chief Judge to represent him, whom they call'd the *President of the Council*, whose peculiar Office was to take care of the Oral Law; for he was the Keeper, and (as the *Jews* say) the Repository of the Traditions: The next eminent for Abilities they chose to be his Second, and him they called the *Father of the Council*, or the Vice-President. These Seventy, as some suppose, were chosen at first by six out of every Tribe, except the Tribe of *Levi*, out of which four only were chosen. Others describe the Man-

Franc. Junius Analyt. Expos. Numb. 11. Solom. Jarchi.

Book I. Manner of their Choice to be thus: Six of every Tribe had their Names written in little Scrolls of Paper; in seventy of these was written *Zaken* an *Elder*, in the two others *Chelek* a *Part*. These Schedules were put into an Urn and mixed: Those who drew out the Scroll who had the Name of *Elder* in it, were admitted into the Number of the Council; but those who drew the two Blanks were rejected. This Bench of Judges sate in the manner of a Half-circle, the President sitting in the midst above the rest; on his right Hand sate the Vice-President, and then the whole *Sanhedrim* on the one Hand and on the other in a Semicircle. But this Posture of sitting was not always observ'd, particularly when a Case of Blasphemy came before them, which they heard standing upon their Feet; and when the Witness delivers his Testimony of what he heard the Blasphemer say, the Judges rend their Garments, and never sow them up again. On each Hand of the Court before them stood a Clerk of the Council; the one register'd the acquitting Voices, the other the condemning. There was a certain Degree of *Doctors*, or *Scribes*, that sate in the *Sanhedrim*, but were not Members of it; they did not sit on the Bench with the Judges, as not being of their Order, but on Seats below nearer the Ground. These Men were learned in the Laws, and were consulted in difficult Matters, in the manner that our Judges in *England* are in Debates that arise in the House of Lords. The proper and constant Time of the sitting of this Court was from the end of the Morning Service to the beginning of the Evening, till our three of the Clock in the Afternoon; and so their sitting and Divine Service did not interfere one with the other; yet sometimes, upon particular Occasions, their Sessions were prolong'd till Night; and then they might determine the Matter they had been debating upon by Day; but they might not enter upon a new Cause by Night. During their whole time of sitting, there were not to be fewer

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in number than twenty three. If any has occa- Chap. 6.
sion to go out (says *Maimonides*) let him first look round, whether his Collegues be three and twenty; if they be, let him go out; but if not, let him wait till another come in. This Senatorian Dignity was conferr'd by *Imposition of Hands*; for *Moses* laid his Hands upon the Seventy Elders, who initiated others after the same way; yet, say the *Jews*, this solemn Rite could not be used without the Districts of the Holy Land, because the Efficacy of it was confined within the Bounds of *Palestine*. This Ceremony was at length disused, and succeeded by this Form of Words: *Behold the Hand is imposed on thee, and Power given thee to judge in criminal Causes.* In Sanhed. Per. 11.

The Authority of this great Council extended to judge of all Persons, except the King, and of all Matters, tho' inferior Cases were generally referr'd to the lower Courts. Whatever Causes the other Magistrates in the Towns of *Palestine* and *Jerusalem* were not able to decide, belong'd to their Jurisdiction. Nor was their Power confined to the Holy Land; but all the *Jews* in foreign Countries thought themselves obliged by their Decrees. From this supreme Court they receiv'd the Rule and Determination concerning intercalating and beginning the Year, and the time for the Celebration of the publick Festivals. Had a Man occasion, says the *Talmud*, to inquire about a Matter, he applied first to the Judicatory that was in his own City: If they could resolve it, he had no more to do; if that could not, he went to the next *Sanhedrim*; if that could not, he went to the *Sanhedrim* of the three and twenty in the Gate of the Mountain of the House; if that could not, he went to the other *Sanhedrim* of three and twenty in the Gate of *Nicanor*; and if that could not, he applied to the great Council that sate in the Room *Gazith*, and there he received a positive Determination; which if he did not absolutely submit to, he pass'd under the Notion of a rebellious Elder, and was in danger of being tried for his In Sanhed. Per. 11.

Book I. his Life. From this great *Sanhedrim* Decrees and Judgments go out for all *Israel*, and whosoever believed *Moses* and his Law was bound to rest upon them for Matters of the Law. Their Determination in Civil or Criminal Matters was not to be controverted, and all Parties were to rest absolutely in their Decisions. Not the least Alteration was to be allow'd in the Sentence; for tho' it might possibly be unjust, and the Senate perhaps did really mistake the Case, and were better informed afterwards (for which the Law seems to order an Expiatory Sacrifice) yet it was not lawful for any Man to act contrary to their present Decree, nor to teach the contrary, whatever he might think of it in his private Opinion: If he presumed to dispute the Validity of their Determinations, he was to die for his Contumacy and Contempt, which was done by strangling. The most received Opinion is, that the Offender was kept in Custody till the next great Feast (either of the Passover, or Pentecost, or Tabernacles) and then executed, when the whole Nation, that is, all the Males were present; which Example was design'd to strike a Terror into the People, that they should not presume to resist the supreme Authority, but pay an absolute and undisputed Submission. They had the Power of Life and Death, and had Authority to judge of Heresy and Heterodoxy, to appoint Magistrates in inferior Cities, to pronounce whether an Apostate City should be rased or not, to administer the bitter Waters to the suspected Wife; and in case of Murther to measure to the next City, when the Murtherer is unknown; to pass Sentence upon a whole Tribe, a Prophet, the High Priest, and (if we believe *Maimonides*) the King himself. His Words are: If the High Priest did any thing that deserv'd whipping, they whipped him, and restored him to his Dignity again; and though they admitted not a King of the House of *David* to be a Member of the *Sanhedrim*, yet did the Kings judge the People, and they judged them, if

Maimon. in Mamrim. Per. 1.

Levit. 4. 13.

In Sanhed. Per. 2, 3.

if there was occaſion. But this learned *Rabbi* was ſtrangely prejudiced in Favour of this great Council; and notwithſtanding *Joſephus* is of the ſame Opinion, yet to allow ſuch an Extent of Juriſdiction to this Court, ſo as to inflict corporal Puniſhment upon the Perſons of their Kings, is contrary to the general Notions of Sovereignty, the Judgment of the beſt Commentators, and particularly, the Holy Scriptures are abſolutely ſilent, and nothing can poſſibly be inferr'd from them to countenance ſuch a coercive Authority. Chap. 6.

This College of Seventy one had Power to inflict capital Penalties, in which Matters they were particularly converſant, and could puniſh with four ſorts of Death, with ſtoning, burning, ſlaying with the Sword, and ſtrangling; and the *Jews* are fond of believing, that even after the Temple was deſtroy'd, and the *Sanhedrim* ceaſed, yet theſe four kinds of Death that were uſed to be inflicted by the great Council did not ceaſe: He that deſerv'd (ſay they) to be ſtoned to Death, either fell off from ſome Houſe, or ſome wild Beaſt tore and devour'd him: He that deſerv'd burning, either fell into ſome Fire, or ſome Serpent bit him: He that deſerv'd to be ſlain with the Sword, was either deliver'd into the Hands of a Heathen King, or was murder'd by Robbers: He that deſerv'd ſtrangling, was either drowned in ſome River, or choak'd by a Squincey. But be that as it will, it is certain, that about forty Years before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, the great *Sanhedrim* loſt their Judiciary Power in capital Caſes: It was not taken from them by the *Romans*, as the *Jews* vainly urge; but it fell out of their Hands of it ſelf, through their own unaccountable Indolence, Cowardice, and Lenity: and this Relaxation of Diſcipline encourag'd all ſorts of Criminals in their Impieties; ſo that the *Sanhedrim* durſt not call them to an Account, nor inflict Puniſhments upon them. Their own Records declare that Adulteries, about the time we are ſpeaking of, were grown ſo common, that the *Sanhedrim* determined Chetubb. fol. 30. 1.

there

Book I. there should be no more Tryal of the suspected Wife by the bitter Waters which God had prescrib'd: That Murders were so common and ordinary, that the *Sanhedrim* determined there should be no more the beheading of a Heifer, which God had prescrib'd for the Expiation of an uncertain Murder; and Murderers so numerous, powerful, and impudent, that the Magistrate could not, durst not judge them, for fear of being themselves murder'd: And therefore the great *Sanhedrim* resolved, Come let us rise, and sit here no longer; it is better for us to depart hence, than by sitting here to contract a Guilt upon our selves; and the Place of our Session requires that we should do Judgment and Execution, and we cannot do it. And so they rose and went thence, and then ceased and failed the judging of capital Offenders throughout all the Courts of *Israel*.

When this great Council was first formed by *Moses*, they sate at the Door of the Tabernacle, that, being so near the Divine Presence, they might be influenc'd to execute Judgment and Justice among the People. In the time of the first Temple they kept their Session, sometimes in the Gate *Shushan* or the Gate of the Mountain of the House, and sometimes in the Gate of *Nicanor* or the Gate of the Court. They did not sit in the very Gate through which the People pass'd, (for that part of the Gate was within the Court, where no Person might sit but the King only) but in some upper Room over the Gate, which, tho' it stood within the Compass of the Court, they did not esteem so holy as the Place below. Upon Sabbath Days, and publick Festivals, they sate in the Court of the *Gentiles*. During the Captivity, this national Council was kept up at *Babylon*, where they met and consulted for the common Interest of the Nation. This Opinion is controverted by learned Men; but it is certain, from the *Jewish* Writers, that there was a *Sanhedrim* in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, for the sake only of a Colony of the *Jews* that was there planted, even while *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*

Gemara Hierosol. in Succah, fol. 55.

rusalem were fully inhabited; how much more then might there have been one at *Babylon*, when the whole Nation was removed thither, during their Captivity in that Land? After the second Temple was finish'd, there was a Building erected called *Gazith*, so called, because it was neatly framed of hewen Stone: Half of this Fabrick was holy, and half of it common, that is, half of it stood within the Court, and half of it within the *Chel*; and here it was where the great Council of the Judges sate; for no one was to sit within the Verge of the Court, except the King. This Apartment *Gazith* was near the Altar of Burnt Offerings, half of it being in that sacred Court where the Altar stood; and this Court of Judicature thought themselves bound, while they sat there, to execute impartial Justice, because of the Nearness of the divine Presence, which they imagined resided always upon the Altar, and look'd upon them when they acted in Judgment. In this place they sate till their Authority was almost lost; for when they found that they could not oppose that Torrent of Wickedness that generally prevailed, they resolv'd not to sit there in Judgment any more. While they continued in the Room *Gazith*, in the very Court of *Israel* before the Altar, they thought themselves bound to judge according to the Sacredness of the Place; which when they could not do, by reason of the Insolence and Resolution of the Criminals, they broke up their Session, and removed from that Apartment to a Place that join'd to the Shops and Stalls, where Salt and Oil, and Frankincense, and other Accommodations for the Service of the Altar, were publickly sold. They made many other Removes from Place to Place; but still their Authority diminish'd, till, sitting at last at *Tiberias*, the Jurisdiction of the great *Sanhedrim* expired, about the time when *Antoninus*, called the Philosopher, was Emperor of *Rome*. Chap. 8.

Besides this high Court of Judicature, there was a Consistory of three and twenty appointed in

Book I.

most Cities of any Note, who sate in Judgment upon the Lives and Fortunes of the People, and decided all Causes, a few only excepted. There were two of these lesser Courts in *Jerusalem*, the one in the Gate of *Shushan*, and the other in the Gate of *Nicanor*; and through all the Cities of *Palestine* was a Council of twenty three establish'd, provided that there were a hundred and twenty Men in the City qualified to bear Office. Every *Sanhedrim* (says *Maimonides*) of twenty three had three Forms of Probationers, of three and twenty in every Form; and when there was a Vacancy in the *Sanhedrim*, the highest in the first Form was admitted, and made a Judge; then the highest in the second Form came in, and sate lowest in the first Form; and the highest in the third Form came up, and sate lowest in the second; and some new Man was admitted to sit lowest in the third Form; and by this means the *Sanhedrims* and the Forms were still kept full. The Advancement of Judges into the supreme Court of seventy one was first by degrees, through the two Courts of twenty three that were in *Jerusalem*. Whosoever, says the same Rabbi, was found of competent Qualifications, was first made a Judge in his own City, and from thence was promoted into the Judicatory of the Gate of the Mountain of the House, from thence into the Judicatory in the Gate of the Court, and so at last into the great *Sanhedrim*. These Consistories always sate in the Gates of the Cities; their Session began after morning Prayers, and continued to the end of the sixth Hour, that is, with us, till twelve of the Clock; and their Authority, tho' not in capital Cases, was exerted in many Places after *Jerusalem* was destroy'd.

In Sanhed. Per. 1.

There was yet a lower Court, consisting of three Judges, set up in small Villages, that did not contain a hundred and twenty Housholders: Their Office was to determine about Matters of Money, Rights of Inheritance, and Division of Lands, Borrowing, Stealing, Damages, Restitutions,

tions, the forcing or enticing of a Maid, pulling off the Shoe, and many other Matters of an inferior Concern. They had no Authority in capital Cases: But tho' they could not punish with Death, yet they had the Power of scourging, and inflicting other Penalties, as the Case required. This sort of Consistories is kept up among the *Jews* to this Day. All that were *Jews* were under the Jurisdiction of these Courts, and the *Proselytes* of Righteousness had the advantage to be judg'd by them. But *Proselytes* of the Gate were try'd by one Judge, and were put to Death by the Testimony of one Witness; which was insufficient to convict a *Jew*, and was against the express Command of the *Mosaick* Law. Chap. 7. *Reland* Antiqu. Sac. Pars. 2. cap. 7.

Maimonides makes mention of some particular Cases, that neither belong'd to the seventy Elders, nor to the College of twenty three, nor to the Triumvirate; but they were to be refer'd to a peculiar Senate; in which number he takes notice of Man-slaughter, committed by an uncertain Hand, in the Borders of any Town; five Men, says he, must expiate this by the Sacrifice of a Heifer. *Josephus* also speaks of a Court of Judicature in every City, consisting of seven Judges, each of whom had two of the Tribe of *Levi* to assist him; who, with a President and Deputy, made up the number of twenty three; which seems to be the same Court of Justice with the College of twenty three abovementioned. In Sanhed. c. 5. Antiq. lib. 4. cap. 8.

CHAP. VII.

The Forms of Judgment, and Methods of Tryal in the publick Courts of Justice.

IN the Civil Consistories of the *Hebrews*, there were always present the Judges, Witnesses, Advocates, Notaries and Officers. The *Mosaick* Law strictly insists upon the Qualities of Upright-

Book I. Antiq. lib. 4 cap. 8.

neſs, Patience, Impartiality, Deliberation, and Compaſſion in thoſe who ſit in Judgment. They ought to judge, ſays *Joſephus*, with Equity, without reſpect to Profit or Dignity, and prefer Juſtice before all things; for God will take Vengeance upon unjuſt Judges: And it was a ſtanding Law, that if a Judge wilfully pronounc'd an unrighteous Decree, he was bound to make Reſtitution to the Perſon whoſe Cauſe he had perverted.

In the ſupreme Courts there was a *Preſident* over the other Judges, whoſe Leave was firſt obtained for the Tryal of all Actions; and to avoid all appearance of Partiality, there was an equal Regard had to the Plaintiff and the Defendant. If two Parties, ſays a learned Rabbi, appear in a Cauſe, and the one be clothed in rich Apparel, and the other be ragged, and in a poor Habit, let it be ſaid to him that is more honourable; Either do you beſtow upon your Adverſary as good Clothes as you have on your ſelf, or elſe put on ſuch as he wears, that you may be both alike, and then appear before the Court of Judgment. By no means let the one ſit, and the other ſtand; but let them both be commanded to ſtand: Or, if it pleaſe the Judges to give them both leave to ſit, let not one of them ſit in a high Place, and the other in a low, but both on the ſame Bench, one on the ſide of the other. And ſo tender were theſe Judicatories to Criminals, eſpecially in capital Caſes, that the Defendant was not only allow'd to defend himſelf to the utmoſt, but every one had liberty to ſpeak in his Favour; which was a Privilege not permitted to the Accuſer.

The Party accuſed, when he was upon his Tryal, ſtood in an eminent Place in the Court, that the People might ſee him, and hear what was alledg'd againſt him, and the Proofs of it, and the Defence made by the Criminal: The Accuſers and the Witneſſes likewiſe ſtood, unleſs they were allow'd to ſit by the Indulgence of the Judges. The *Advocates* or Pleaders attended the Court,

Court, and were placed where they might be conveniently heard: The *Notaries* were two; one ſtood on the right hand of the Judges to write the Sentence of Abſolution, the other ſtood on the left to write the Sentence of Condemnation. The *Officers* were in the Nature of Serjeants, who were preſent to execute what the Judges determined; and they carried their Staves and Whips, as the *Roman* Conſuls had their *Lictors*, with Rods and Axes carried before them, for the more ready Execution of Juſtice. Chap. 7.

Theſe Tribunals were exceeding ſtrict in the Examination of Witneſſes, and would not admit their Teſtimony, before their Behaviour and Reputation were inquired into. A Woman was not admitted to be a Witneſs, becauſe of the Levity and Weakneſs of her Sex; nor a Man Servant, by reaſon of the ſervile and abject Nature of his Mind, which might be tempted by Bribes, or terrified by Fear to falſify in his Depoſitions. If a Witneſs was convicted of Perjury in a capital Caſe, he was puniſh'd with Death: And generally it was the Rule, that whoever gave a falſe Teſtimony, was ſubject to the ſame Penalty that the Perſon ſhould have ſuffer'd, if he had been caſt by his falſe Accuſation. But this Practice was not always obſerv'd; and, as an Inſtance, it was allow'd, that if any one by falſe Evidence attempted to deprive another of his Legitimacy, and by conſequence to rob him of the Privileges of being legitimate, by ſaying that he is the Son of a divorced Woman, tho' he were indeed a falſe Witneſs, yet he was not puniſh'd in the ſame manner, to be made as the Son of a divorced Woman, but he was to be ſcourged with forty Stripes; and in another Caſe, if a Witneſs falſly accuſed the Daughter of a Prieſt of playing the Whore, he was not to be burnt, as ſhe ſhould have been, but to be ſtrangled as an Adulterer.

No Man was to be found guilty, but by two Witneſſes at leaſt, and thoſe of a competent Age, of good Fame, and not convicted of ever having

Book I. given a falſe Teſtimony: One Witneſs was not ſufficient to convict of any Offence, whether in Civil or Criminal Matters. For an Inquiſition into the Fact one was enough, but not for the Condemnation of the Perſon accuſed: Yet in Pecuniary Matters, the *Hebrew* Doctors ſay, that the Teſtimony of one credible Witneſs was ſufficient to put a Man to his Oath for his Purgation, and they fixed a Mark of Infamy upon him, who in ſuch Caſes had ſuch a ſingle Witneſs to appear againſt him. But tho' one Witneſs was not ſufficient to condemn another; yet if he gave a falſe Teſtimony, it was allow'd as Evidence to condemn himſelf. The Puniſhment, as was obſerv'd before, was generally by the Law of Retaliation; yet the Party injured might, if he pleaſed, forbear to require this Puniſhment; but the Judge, if it was inſiſted upon, could not deny to inflict it. It was a Law among the *Jews*, that no Man was to ſuffer his Neighbour to periſh in Judgment, when he could free him by his Teſtimony; and the Judges had Power to uſe ſolemn Adjurations, either to draw a Confeſſion from the Perſon accuſed, or a faithful Teſtimony from a Witneſs; and the Party was oblig'd to ſpeak the Truth, as much as if he had taken a ſtrict Oath. Every Man was bound to give Teſtimony in the Civil Courts, when he was required; but there was a Difference obſerv'd between Capital and Pecuniary Cauſes: In the latter, a Man was not obliged to come and teſtify, unleſs he was cited by the Plaintiff, or by the Court; but in capital Tryals, and in ſuch things as the Law prohibited, he was bound to appear of his own accord, and give his Evidence without any Summons.

After the Cauſe had been carefully examin'd, and all Parties impartially heard, Sentence was pronounced in this manner: *Thou*, Simeon, *art juſt*; *Thou*, Reuben, *art guilty*; which ſimple Pronunciation of Sentence either abſolv'd, or condemned the Accuſed. When the Sentence was deliver'd, the Witneſſes, if the Caſe was Capital, put their

Hands

Hands upon the Head of the condemn'd Perſon, and ſaid, *Thy Blood be upon thy own Head.* Then was the Malefactor led to Execution, and no one was allow'd openly to lament his Misfortune: The Place in the Wilderneſs, and before the Conqueſt of *Canaan*, was without the Camp; and afterwards, without the Gate of the City, though ſtoning was often executed in the Temple. He was conducted by two Executioners, that were called *Spectators of the Congregation*; becauſe while the Court was ſitting, they were no more than Spectators, to behold and to attend to the Commands of the Judges. The Buſineſs of an Executioner was not of ſo ill Repute in the *Hebrew* Republick, as to derive any great Reproach upon the Officer. Nor was it unuſual for great Perſons to do Execution upon Offenders in ancient Times, when they had no publick Miniſters of this Nature. We find that *Saul* commanded thoſe that attended upon him to kill the Prieſts; and *Doeg*, one of his great Officers, did it: *Samuel* himſelf hewed *Agag* to pieces in *Gilgal*; and *Benajah*, the General of the Army, fell upon *Joab* at the Horns of the Altar. The Diſtance between the Court of Judicature and the Place of Execution contributed often to ſave the Life of the Criminal; for as he was led to be executed, a publick Cryer went before, ſaying, with an audible Voice; "Such a one is going to be puniſh'd with "ſuch a Death, becauſe he has committed ſuch "or ſuch an Offence, at ſuch a Time, and in "ſuch a Place; and theſe two are Witneſſes "thereof: If there be any one therefore, that "knows of any thing that may be offer'd to his "Advantage, let him come forth and give his "Evidence." For this purpoſe a Perſon was appointed to ſtand at the Door of the Conſiſtory, with an Handkerchief, or linnen Cloth in his Hand; and if any one offer'd to ſpeak in his Defence, he who ſtood at the Door wav'd the Handkerchief in the Air: Upon which, another who was ready at a ſmall Diſtance, with a fleet

Chap. 7.

Moſes Kotſen in Sanhed.

Book I. Horſe, rode with all poſſible ſpeed, and call'd back the condemned Priſoner. And ſo tender were theſe Judges in Caſes of Blood, that if the Malefactor could think of any thing further to ſay for his own Purgation, he was indulg'd the Liberty of returning back four or five times, except he was frivolous and trifling in his Plea, and impos'd upon the Favour of the Court. When the Criminal came within ten Cubits of the Place of Execution, two of the *Scholars of the Wiſe Men*, who always attended upon theſe Occaſions, exhort him to confeſs; becauſe they ſay, that every one that confeſſes has a Part in the World to come. Immediately before the Execution began, ſays the *Talmud*, they gave the condemn'd a Quantity of Frankincenſe in a Cup of Wine, to ſtupify him, and render him inſenſible of his Pain; and the compaſſionate Ladies of *Jeruſalem* generally provided this Draught at their own Coſt. The Foundation of this Cuſtom was the Command of *Solomon* in his *Proverbs*; *Give ſtrong Drink to him that is ready to periſh, and Wine to thoſe that be of heavy Hearts.* The Malefactor, after Execution, was not bury'd in the Grave of his Fathers, which was eſteem'd a Mark of Infamy and Reproach, but generally near the Place of Execution; and a Heap of Stones was raiſed over the Body, as a Monument of his ſuffering as a Criminal. There were two Burial-places without the City allow'd for capital Offenders, one for thoſe that were ſlain with the Sword and ſtrangled, and another for ſuch as were burnt and ſtoned; and when the Fleſh was waſted, the Bones were ſometimes collected with great Care, and laid up in the Sepulchers of their Families: And in the laſt place, the Tree whereon a Man was hang'd, and the Stone wherewith he was ſtoned, and the Sword wherewith he was beheaded, and the Napkin wherewith he was ſtrangled, were all buried; that there might be no Memorial remaining, and that it might never be ſaid in time to come, This is the Tree, this

Prov. 31. 6.

is

is the Sword, this is the Stone, this is the Napkin, whereon, or whereby, such a Person was executed and lost his Life. The time of publick Executions was generally near Sun-set, that the Malefactor might soon be bury'd, which was always done the same Night; and as the Courts of Justice never try'd two Criminals on the same Day, except they were guilty of the same Crime; so two were never executed together, unless they were condemn'd for the same Offence. Chap. 8.

CHAP. VIII.

The Capital Punishments among the Hebrews; *Stoning, Burning, Slaying with the Sword or Beheading, and Strangling: Death by the* Hand of Heaven, *and Death by* Cutting off.

THE old *Hebrews* had in use among them no more than four sorts of Capital Punishments; Stoning, Burning, Slaying with the Sword or Beheading, and Strangling. Of these, Stoning was esteem'd the most grievous, Burning worse than Beheading, Beheading more painful than Strangling, and Strangling was the easiest of all. They had a Rule, that when the *Mosaick* Law pronounc'd only that a Man should *die the Death*, it was to be understood of Strangling; for where there was no express Mention of the kind of Death, they thought the most favourable was to be admitted. But this Rule was not generally true; for though the Law says that the Adulterer was to be punish'd with Death, and does not determine the particular kind of it, yet in former Times Adultery was punish'd with Stoning: But when the Law adds, *His Blood shall be upon him*, they say that Death by Stoning is intended. The meaning of the Phrase is, he shall perish Ezek. 16. 38.

periſh by his own Fault; and therefore his Blood, that is, his Death, ſhall not be vindicated. The Blood of one that was ſlain, being innocent, was upon the Murderer, and therefore avenged; but he that was put to Death for his Crimes had his Blood upon himſelf, and no one elſe was to bear it, the Executioner himſelf contracting no Guilt upon him.

To be ſtoned to Death was a moſt grievous and terrible Infliction. When the Offender came within four Cubits of the Place of Execution, he was ſtript naked, only leaving a Covering before; and his Hands being bound, he was led up to the fatal Place, which was an Eminence twice a Man's height. The firſt Executioners of the Sentence were the Witneſſes, who generally pull'd off their Clothes for that purpoſe: One of them threw him down with great Violence upon his Loins; if he roll'd upon his Breaſt, he was turned upon his Loins again; and if he died by the Fall, there was an End; but if not, the other Witneſs took a great Stone, and daſh'd upon his Breaſt, as he lay upon his Back; and then if he was not diſpatch'd, all the People that ſtood by threw Stones at him till he died. The Offenders who are to die by Stoning are reckon'd to be eighteen: He that lies with his own Mother, or with his Father's Wife, or with his Daughter-in-law, or with a betrothed Maid, or with Mankind, or with a Beaſt; the Woman that lies down to a Beaſt; the Blaſphemer; he that worſhips an Idol; he that offers any of his Seed to *Moloch*; he that has a familiar Spirit; the Wizard; the private Enticer to Idolatry; the publick Sollicitor to Idolatry; the Witch; the Profaner of the *Sabbath*; he that curſes his Father or his Mother; and the rebellious Son. All that died by Stoning, if we believe the *Jews*, were alſo hang'd. But this is not univerſally true: It ſeems rather, that all great and notorious Offenders, who deſerv'd to be made publick Examples, were hang'd up after they had ſuffer'd the Death

Moſes Kotſen, fol. 188. col. 4.

to

to which they were ſentenc'd; they were abſolutely dead before this Suſpenſion; which ſhews that this Puniſhment was not the ſame with the *Roman* Crucifixion, which was hanging alive upon the Gibbet, whereby they expired before they were taken down. But this *Hebrew* Cuſtom was no more than hanging up their Bodies after they were dead, and expoſing them for ſome time to open Shame. For this purpoſe a piece of Timber was fixed in the Ground, out of which came a Beam, whereunto the Hands of the Sufferer were tied; ſo that his Body hung in ſuch a Poſture as crucified Men did. When the Sun ſet, the Body was taken down; for he that is hang'd, as the Law ſays, *is accurſed of God*; not that the Criminal was accurſed, becauſe he was hang'd; but he was therefore hang'd, becauſe he was accurſed. Hanging up was a Sign that the Man had committed a horrid Crime, whereby he had incurr'd the divine Diſpleaſure; ſo that every one who ſaw him might think with themſelves, This Man was under the Curſe of God, becauſe of his Sin; and unleſs he had ſuffer'd this Curſe, he could not have been buried, and put into the Condition of other Men; but when he had ſuffer'd for his Sin, it had been criminal in the People not to have taken him down, or to have prolong'd his Suſpenſion longer than God impos'd this Curſe upon him: And the Land likewiſe had been defiled, if after this Suffering they had not buried him; for the whole Country lay under a legal Pollution as long as an accurſed thing hung openly among them. There is an Exception to this Practice upon Record, concerning the taking down the Bodies of Perſons that were hang'd the ſame Evening; for the Bodies of *Saul*'s Sons hung (as the *Hebrew* Doctors underſtand it) from the middle of our *March* to the middle of *October:* But this, it muſt be obſerv'd, was not a legal Puniſhment, (and therefore *David* committed it to the *Gibeonites*, and did not execute it by his own Officers) but an extraordinary one, inflicted by

Chap. 8.

2 Sam 21. 10.

Book I. by thoſe who were not bound to Obedience of the *Moſaick* Law.

This Puniſhment of *Stoning* extended not only to the Perſon offending, but oftentimes to his Cattle; and, if we believe ſome of the *Jews*, to his Sons and Daughters. The Caſe of *Achan* is particular upon this Occaſion: His Children were puniſh'd, ſay ſome, in ſuch a terrible manner, becauſe they were privy to their Father's Fraud and Concealment. Others think this was a neceſſary Severity in the Beginning of a new Empire, and of a plentiful Fortune, upon which the *Hebrews* were now enter'd, that they ſhould not wantonly abuſe it; but there are thoſe who think this but a ſeeming Difficulty, *Achan* alone being ſtoned, (as the Text expreſſes that *Iſrael* ſtoned *him* with Stones) and his Children brought out to be Spectators of the Execution. And when it is ſaid afterwards that they ſtoned *them* with Stones, it relates only to his Oxen, and Aſſes, and Sheep, that were ſtoned with him.

Joſh. 7. 14.

The Capital Puniſhment carrying the next Degree of Terror, was *Burning*. They ſet the Malefactor in Dung up to the Knees, and then tied a Towel about his Neck, which was drawn by the two Witneſſes till they made his Mouth gape, into which they poured hot melted Lead down his Throat, which conſumed his Bowels. This was called the *Burning of the Soul*, and is generally deſcribed by the *Jewiſh* Writers. But the Word for Burning in Scripture being the ſame that is uſed when mention is made of burning with Fire and Faggot, as we now ſpeak, it is ſuppoſed that ſuch a Method was ſometimes practiſed, which is called by the *Jews* the *Burning of the Body*. Malefactors adjudg'd to this Death were, the Prieſt's Daughter who committed Whoredom; he who lay with his own Daughter, or with his Daughter's Daughter, or with his Son's Daughter, or with his Wife's Daughter, or with her Son's Daughter, or with her Daughter's Daughter, or with his Mother-in-law, or with the Mother of his Mo-

ther-

ther-in-law, or with the Mother of his Father-in-law. Chap. 8.

To be slain with the *Sword* was to be beheaded, which was executed in the manner used at this Day. Criminals condemn'd to this Death, were the Murderer, and the Inhabitants of a City perverted to Idolatry.

The Punishment of *Strangling*, as the *Jews* describe it, was not an Infliction like our hanging Men by the Neck; but the Offender being fixed up to the Loins in Dung, they tied a Napkin about his Neck, which being drawn hard by the Witnesses choaked him. The Sufferers by strangling were, he that smote his Father or his Mother, he that stole a Soul of the *Israelites*, an Elder who contradicted the Consistory, a false Prophet, and he that prophesied in the Name of an Idol, he who lay with another Man's Wife, and he who abused the Body of the Priest's Daughter.

These capital Executions were prescrib'd by the *Mosaick* Law, and confirm'd by the Sentence of the publick Judicatories: But beside these, there were two more Punishments by Death, very frequently mentioned by the *Jewish* Writers, that were not inflicted by the Power of Men, but by the immediate Vengeance of God himself. The first of these is called a *Death by the Hand of Heaven*, which is understood to be a Divine Punishment by some sudden and unexpected Blow, which was not to be resisted. This Death was conceived to be merely personal, and not to affect Children or Posterity. The Words, *lest they die*, which are so often mentioned in the sacred Laws that relate to *Aaron* and his Sons, and the Affairs of the Sanctuary, are generally interpreted to signify a Death by the Hand of Heaven. A great Number of Offences were liable to this Penalty, which in the general were confined to Persons, who presumed by their Uncleanness to violate the Sanctity of Divine Worship, and the Place where that Holy Service was performed.

Ano-

Book I. Another Effect of Divine Vengeance was by punishing with Death, called the *Cutting off*, which was understood to be a deeper Degree of Indignation, and a more avengeful Stroke than Death by the Hand of Heaven; and was thought to signify an immature Death, to die without Children, and to forfeit the Happiness of the other World. The *Talmud* reckons six and thirty Offences that were exposed to this Penalty: He that lies with his Mother, or his Father's Wife, or his Daughter-in-law, or with Mankind, or with a Beast, or a Woman lying with a Beast, or a Man lying with a Woman and her Daughter, or with another Man's Wife, or with his own Sister, or his Father's Sister, or his Mother's Sister, or his Wife's Sister, or his Brother's Wife, or his Father's Brother's Wife, or with a Woman in her Separation; or he that blasphemeth, or committeth Idolatry, or giveth his Seed to *Moloch*, or useth Sorcery, or profaneth the Sabbath, or eateth holy things in his Uncleanness, or that comes into the Sanctuary being unclean, or that eateth Fat, or Blood, or what is left of the Sacrifice, or any sacrificed thing not offer'd in Season, or that killeth or offereth up a Sacrifice out of the Court, or that eateth Leaven at the Passover, or that eateth any thing on the Day of Expiation, or doth any Work in it, or that maketh Oil or Incense like the holy, or that anoints with the holy Oil, or that delays the Passover or Circumcision, for which there are affirmative Precepts: All these, if done willfully, are liable to Cutting off. This Punishment proceeded immediately from the Hand of God; and therefore to understand it, when it is mentioned in Scripture, as if it signified cutting off from the publick Assembly by *Ecclesiastical* Censure, is a wrong Opinion. There is nothing more common among the *Hebrew* Canonists, than to adjudge very many Offences to the Penalty of *Cutting off*, according to the usual Phrase. If he shall do this out of Presumption, he is guilty of Cutting off; but if he

Tal. Kerithuth. Per. 1.

he ſhould do it out of Ignorance, he is bound to a Sacrifice for Sin. When a Perſon was deliver'd to this Puniſhment, there was ſometimes a Cenſure and Inflidion added by the *Sanhedrim*; which if the Criminal ſuffer'd, he was thought to be abſolv'd from the Penalty of Cutting off, he was no longer under a Curſe, nor in danger from the impending Vengeance of God. Chap. 8.

CHAP. IX.

Puniſhments not Capital; Impriſonment, Reſtitution, the Law of Talio *or like for like, Scourging, Excommunication, Rebels Beating, &c.*

THE Puniſhments before mentioned affected the Life of the Criminal; but there were others that were not Capital, and were inflicted according to the Nature and Degree of the Offence. Theſe were chiefly four, Impriſonment, Reſtitution, the Law of *Talio* or like for like, and Scourging. There were two Priſons in *Jeruſalem*: One was called the *King's Priſon*, which had a lofty Tower that over-look'd the royal Palace, and had a ſpacious Court before it, where State Offenders were confined; the other was for common Malefactors: And in both theſe the Priſoners were ſupported by the Publick upon Bread and Water. Sometimes ſuſpected Perſons were confin'd in the Cuſtody of State Officers in their own Houſes, of the ſame nature as the King's Meſſengers among us. The royal Priſon was a moſt dreadful Place; eſpecially if the Priſoner was put into the Dungeon, where he was let down naked. This diſmal Pit was in the Court of the King's Priſon; and here *Jeremiah*, who gives us the beſt Account of the Place, was confin'd. The Words of the Prophet are; "Then Jer. 38. 6.
"took they *Jeremiah*, and caſt him into the Dun-

"geon

Book I.

" geon that was in the Court of the Prison; and " they let him down with Cords; and in the " Dungeon there was no Water, but Mire; and " his Feet sunk in the Mire." Over these Prisons was a Jayl-keeper; who, if any Prisoner escaped, was liable to suffer the same Punishment as the Criminal was supposed to deserve. Under this Penalty of Imprisonment are included those Instruments of Misery, the Stocks, Pillory, Chains, Fetters, and the like; all which sorts of Punishments, since they differ very little, or nothing at all, from those which are now in common use among us, need no particular Explication.

The Penalty of *Restitution* will be more fully described hereafter. In this Place it is sufficient to observe, that it was commanded when Goods were unjustly gotten, or wrongfully detained; and was of a three-fold nature; either when the same thing in *kind* (as we call it) was restored, that was injuriously gotten; or when there was *so much* for *so much* in Quantity restor'd, the Goods unjustly procured being sold or lost; or when Restitution was made according to what a Man had, it being out of his Power to satisfy the whole. We are told that the *Jews* are so precise in this Matter, that if they had a Beam, or a piece of Timber in their House, which they apprehended was unjustly gotten, they would pull down the House and restore it to the right Owner.

Dav. Kimchi.

The Punishment of *Talio*, or *like for like*, was either according to the Letter of the Law, when the Offender was punish'd with the loss of an Eye (for instance) for putting out the Eye of another; or when the Price of an Eye, or some proportionable Mulct, was paid for an Eye put out, or any other Member spoiled. The *Hebrew* Doctors understand, that the Price of an Eye (for Example) should be paid, not that the Criminal should be punish'd *like for like*; because a Penalty of this Nature is, in some Cases, impossible; as if a blind Man should put out another's Eye, or

one

one toothless strike out another's Tooth. And in other Cases, perhaps, it would be unjust; as if a Man who had but one Eye, should strike out the Eye of another who had two; by suffering this Penalty the Offender would become wholly blind. In Cases of bodily Wounds and Blemishes, they say, that the Party offending was bound to a fivefold Satisfaction; to pay for the Hurt received in the Loss of the Member, for the Damage by the Loss of his Labour, for his Pain and Grief arising from the Wound, for the Expence in curing it, and for the Blemish and Deformity occasion'd by it. Chap. 9.

The Penalty of *Scourging* was inflicted by the Sentence of the Judges; who, having first admonish'd the Offender, and produc'd the Witnesses against him, as in capital Cases, order'd him to lie down before a low Pillar, to which his Hands were tied: Then was he stript down to his Waste, the Executioner stood behind him upon a Stone, where he scourg'd him both on the Back and Breast with Thongs made of an Ox's Hide, in open Court, before the Face of the Judges. The Rule was, that the Criminal was scourg'd before the Council of *Three*, for the Violation of a negative Precept; but for the Breach of an affirmative, the Execution was to be done before the Court of *Twenty three*. He was condemned to receive more or fewer Stripes, proportionable to his Crime: And all the time the Executioner was scourging him, the principal Judge proclaimed those Words with a loud Voice; *If thou observest not all the Words of this Law*, &c. *then the Lord shall make thy Plagues wonderful*, &c. adding those, *Keep therefore the Words of this Covenant, and do them*, &c. Concluding at last with those of the *Psalmist*; *But he being full of Compassion forgave their Iniquities:* Which he was to repeat, if he had finish'd these Verses before the full Number of Stripes were given. It was expresly commanded that no *Jew* should suffer by more than forty Stripes for any Crime; fewer they might inflict, but not more:

Deut. 28. 58.

Deut. 29. 9.

Psal. 78. 38.

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And of this they were so careful, that as one of the three Judges commanded the Executioner to strike, another told the Stripes; while the third pronounced the Sentences out of Scripture before mentioned, to admonish him, and every one else, of the Justice of the Punishment. For the Prevention also of Excess in the Number of Blows, they were used to give but thirty-nine Stripes, and no more, though the Offender was ever so strong or stubborn. For this purpose the Scourge consisted of three Thongs; so that at each Blow he received three Stripes; and in their greatest Correction were given commonly but thirteen Blows, that is, forty Stripes save one. Yet it was esteemed so great a Presumption to enter any part of the Temple in Uncleanness, that if a Leper came into the Mountain of the House, he was punish'd with eighty Stripes; and if any Man deserved this Punishment twice together, they sometimes exceeded the Number of forty, and went so far as to sentence such a Malefactor to receive seventy-nine Stripes. And on the other side, if a Man was so weak that he was ready to faint away before he had received the thirty-nine, the Judges would order the Executioner to stay his Hand. No Person was to be reproached after he had suffer'd this Punishment, nor upbraided for the Crime for which he was whipped; he was to be treated with the same Respect, and restor'd to the same Office which he enjoy'd before; except only if he were the *President* of the *Sanhedrim*, who was never to be restor'd to his Authority, if he had been scourg'd, nor equally honour'd with his inferior Collegues. Sometimes, in notorious Offences, and to increase the Pains, they would use Whips with Rowels in them, or tied sharp Thorns to the end of the Thongs, called *Scorpions* in the Scripture, which afflicted and tore the Flesh in a grievous manner.

These Punishments were, in a great measure, prescribed by the *Mosaick* Law, and confirm'd by common Practice: But when Offences were committed,

mitted, for which no Punishment was appointed, Chap. 9.
either in the Scriptures, or in the traditional Decrees, the Penalty of *Excommunication* was devised by the Courts of Justice, and inflicted by publick Sentence upon the Offender. The lowest Degree of Excommunication was called *Reproof* (the same perhaps with St. *Paul's Rebuke*) and 1 Tim. 5. 1.
the Person who lay under this Correction was obliged to keep himself within Doors, as one who took Shame to himself. He was not to converse in publick, nor to appear before the Person who struck him with this Sentence; but others were not bound to avoid his Company, but had the Liberty to resort to him at home. The Reasons, for which Excommunication was generally inflicted, were two; the first (as the *Jews* express it) for *Money*, the other for *Epicurism*. Excommunication for Money, was not when one owing another Money did not pay it; for in this Case an Action at Law lay against the Debtor; but when he was summoned into Court, and adjudged by the Bench to pay it, and then refused. The Crime of *Epicurism* commonly intended a Scorn and Contempt of the Words of God, and the Scholars of the *Wise Men*; and an *Epicurean* among the *Talmudists* denotes a presumptuous dissolute Person, govern'd by no Rule, and circumscribed by no Law. The Offender, against whom they were to proceed by Excommunication, was first cited by a Messenger sent to him by the Court; who gave him notice of the Day on which, and of the Persons before whom he was to appear. The Days were generally three; the second Day of the Week (when they sate in the Court, and assembled in the Synagogue) and the fifth Day (when likewise there was an Assembly and a Session) and the second Day of the Week following. If he did not appear upon the Day first appointed, they expected him upon the other two, and defer'd the Sentence; but this was when the Case was about *Money*. But if it were for *Epicurism*, and the Person did not ap-

Book I. pear upon the first Day, the Court proceeded to Sentence, and he was excommunicated.

There were three Degrees of Excommunication among the *Jews*: The first is what is called in the *New Testament a casting out of the Synagogue*, and signifies a Separation from all Commerce or Society, either with Man or Woman, for the Distance (they say) of four Cubits; also from eating or drinking with any; from the Use of the Marriage-bed; from shaving, washing, or the like, according to the Pleasure of the Judge, and the Quality of the Offence. It was of force thirty Days, yet so that they might be shorten'd upon Repentance. He that was thus excommunicated, had liberty to be present at divine Service, to teach, or learn of others; he hired Servants, and was hired himself; but always upon condition of the Separation abovementioned. If he remained impenitent, and persisted in his Obstinacy, after the thirty Days were expired, they excommunicate him again, with the Addition also of a *solemn Curse*. This is supposed by some to be the same with *delivering over to Satan*, and is the second Degree of Excommunication. The Offence was publish'd in the Synagogue; and at the time of the Publication of the *Curse*, Candles were lighted; and when it was ended, they were put out, as a Sign that the Excommunicate was deprived of the Light of Heaven. His Goods were confiscated; his Male Children were not admitted to be circumcised: If he died without Repentance, by the Sentence of the Judge a Stone was cast upon his Coffin, or Bier, to shew that he deserved to be stoned. He was not mourned for with any solemn Lamentation, nor followed to the Grave, nor buried with common Burial. The last degree of Excommunication was *Anathematizing*; which was inflicted when the Offender had often refused to comply with the Sentence of the Court, and was attended with corporal Punishment, and sometimes with Banishment and Death. *Drusius* gives a Form of this Excommunication, which

De trib. Sect. lib 3. cap. 11.

the

the *Jews* say was used by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* against the *Samaritans*, in this manner: They assembled the whole Congregation in the Temple of the Lord, and they brought three hundred Priests, three hundred Trumpets, and three hundred Books of the Law, and as many Boys; and they sounded their Trumpets, and the *Levites* singing, *cursed* the *Samaritans* by all the sorts of Excommunication in the Mystery of the Name *Jehovah*, and in the Decalogue, and with the Curse of the superior House of Judgment, and likewise with the Curse of the inferior House of Judgment; that no *Israelite* should eat the Bread of a *Samaritan*, (hence they say, he who eats a *Samaritan's* Bread is as he who eats Swines Flesh) and let no *Samaritan* be a Proselyte in *Israel*; and that they should have no part in the Resurrection of the Dead. Chap. 9.

Besides these Penalties in common use among the *Jews*, there was another Punishment, called the *Rebels Beating*; which was often fatal, and inflicted by the Mob (as we call it) with their Fists, or Staves, or Stones, without Mercy, or the Sentence of the Judges. Whoever transgressed against a Prohibition of the *Wise Men*, or of the *Scribes*, that had its Foundation in the Law, was deliver'd over to the People, to be used in this manner; and he was called *a Son of Rebellion*. The frequent taking up of Stones by the People to stone our Saviour, and the Incursion upon him and upon St. *Stephen* for Blasphemy (as they would have it) and upon St. *Paul* for defiling the Temple (as they supposed) were of this nature. Gloss. in Maim. in Sabbath. Per. 1.

There were other Punishments introduc'd among the *Jews* in the latter Times of their Government, which were borrow'd from other Nations; and these were principally, the Death upon the Cross, Sawing asunder, Condemnation to fight with wild Beasts, the Wheel, drowning in the Sea, beating to Death with Cudgels, and (as *Junius* observes, though his Opinion is not generally allow'd) *Boating*. The first and the third In Jerem. 29. 26.

Book I.

were properly *Roman* Puniſhments; the ſecond was likewiſe uſed by the *Romans*, but whether originally taken from them is doubtful. The fourth and ſixth were *Grecian* Penalties: The fifth was, for the Subſtance, in uſe among the *Hebrews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*; but in the manner of drowning they differ'd; for the *Hebrews* tied a Mill-ſtone about the Neck of the Offender, which was peculiar to them. The laſt Puniſhment was derived from the *Perſians*, which, becauſe of the Singularity of it, deſerves a particular Deſcription. The condemn'd Perſon was laid upon his Back in a Boat, and having his Hands tied faſt to each ſide of it, had another Boat put over him, his Head only being left out, through a Place made fit for it. In this Poſture they forcibly fed him with Milk and Honey, till the Worms, bred in the Excrements which he voided, did eat out his Bowels as he thus lay, and ſo killed him. It was uſually twenty Days before he expired, the Malefactor lying all this while in exquiſite Torments. The other kinds of Puniſhments abovementioned being not properly of *Jewiſh* Extract, and likewiſe ſo obvious to be underſtood, it would be of no uſe to have them particularly explain'd.

Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Original of the Hebrew Prieſthood; *the Succeſſion of the* High-Prieſts, *from their firſt Inſtitution to the Birth of* Chriſt.

HEREVER there has been any Senſe of Religion, there were peculiar Perſons ſet apart, whoſe Office it was to direct and govern the Affairs of it. Among the *Hebrews*, in the moſt early Times, the Prieſthood was veſted in the Heads of Tribes, and in the Firſt-born of every Family. To the Patriarch, or Head of every Tribe, it belong'd to bleſs the Family, to offer Sacrifice, to intercede for them by Prayer, and to miniſter in other ſolemn Acts of Religion. And this Office hereditarily deſcended to the Firſt-born, who had Power to diſcharge it during the Life of his Father; for it was not neceſſary, that he who was a Prieſt by virtue of his Primogeniture, ſhould be alſo the eldeſt of the Houſe. Every

Book II. First-born had three great Prerogatives, a double Portion of the paternal Inheritance, a Lordship and Principality over his Brethren, and a Right to the Priesthood, to instruct them in the Knowledge of divine things, and to manage the common Offices of holy Worship: So that in those Times there was a particular Priesthood in every Family, the Administration whereof was usually appropriated to the First-born. But though the Sacerdotal Function ordinarily belong'd to the First-born; yet was it not so wholly invested in them, but that, in some Cases, it might be exercis'd by younger Brothers; especially when they pass'd into other Families, and themselves became Heads of Families and Tribes. We find that *Moses* was a Priest, or, as the *Jews* call him, the *Priest of Priests*, and yet was but the second Son of *Amram*, and the younger Brother of *Aaron*. The Method, in short, seem'd to be this: The Patriarch, or surviving Head of every Tribe, was a kind of High-Priest over all the Families that were descended from him; the First-born in every Family was the ordinary Priest, who might officiate in the room of his Father, and who, after his Father's Decease, succeeded him: The younger Brothers, leaving their Father's House, and themselves becoming Heads of Families, and their Seats removed too far distant to make use of the ordinary Priesthood, did themselves take the Office upon them, and exercise it over all those that were under them, and descended from them; though the principal Honour and Dignity were reserv'd for the Priesthood of the First-born.

This was the State of the Priesthood among the *Hebrews*, in a constant Succession of the Patriarchal Line; and the Church lay thus long dispers'd in private Families, and had been often reduc'd to an inconsiderable Number; till God was at length pleas'd to enter into Covenant with the whole Body of the Nation, and to govern his Church by more certain and fixed Methods,

thods. For this purpose *Moses*, by divine Commission, establish'd a regular Priesthood; and as the First-born in the Family of every Tribe was a Priest before the Delivery of the Law; so after its Publication, the First-born in the chief Family of *Aaron* was High-Priest, lineally descended, and by Succession: And by this necessity of Succession, it happen'd that sometimes the High-Priest was but meanly qualified for so high a Trust, and became contemptible in his Office; from whence arose the common Proverb, *A Scholar*, though he be a *Bastard*, is of more value than an *illiterate High-Priest*. Chap. 1.

The Succession of the High-Priests, from the first Institution of the Order in the Person of *Aaron*, to the Birth of *Christ*, may thus be briefly deduced, from the Accounts of Scripture, and other Records of that Nation.

Aaron.
Eleazar.
Phinehas, who is tenaciously held by the *Jews* to be *Elias*.
Abishua.
Bukki.
Uzzi.
Zeruhiah.
Merajoth. Here the High-Priesthood changed from the Line of *Eleazar* to the Line of *Ithamar*.
Eli.
Phinehas.
Abitub.
Ahimelech, or *Ahijah*.
Abiathar, who was deposed from the High-Priesthood by *Solomon*.

In the Time of these High-Priests, of the House of *Ithamar*, there were three Successions in the Line of *Eleazar*.

Amariah.
Ahitub.
Zadok.

Now

Now whereas it is said that *Zadok* the Son of *Ahitub*, and *Ahimelech* the Son of *Abiathar*, were Priests, it is to be understood that they were chief among the Priests, and principal Overseers in the constant Service and Matters of the Sanctuary; but *Abiathar* was High-Priest, who was of the House of *Ithamar*, who did not so much attend the ordinary and common Service; therefore *Zadok*, of the Line of *Eleazar*, and *Ahimelech*, of the Family of *Ithamar*, had the chief Management of the Service under him.

When *Solomon* was fixed upon the Throne, he degraded *Abiathar* from the High-Priesthood, as a turbulent Ecclesiastick, and a Man guilty of Treason in the Conspiracy of *Adonijah*; and he placed *Zadok* in his room, in whom the Line of *Eleazar* was again restored. His Successor was his Son

Ahimaaz.

Azariah.

Johanan.

Azariah. He it was who executed the Priests Office in the Temple of *Solomon*; but it is a Question whether it was at the beginning of the Temple Service, or afterwards. The *Jews* generally conclude, that it was he who withstood *Uzziah*, when he went into the Temple to burn Incense; for which gallant Stand in Honour of the Priesthood, it is said of him alone, that he executed the Priests Office in the Temple.

1 Chron. 6. 10.

Amariah. He was High-Priest in the Reign of *Jehoshaphat*, and is said to be over the *Jews* in all Matters of the Lord; from whence some conclude, that he was a Member of the *Sanhedrim*, or the Great Council at *Jerusalem*.

Ahitub, who had likewise the Name of *Jehoiadah*, and was Uncle to King *Joash*.

Merajoth, called *Zechariah*. He was stoned in the Court of the Temple, and had the Name of *Merajoth* in Memory of that horrid Rebellion and Cruelty.

Zadok.

Shallum.

Hilkiah,

Hilkiah, who found the Manuscript of *Moses* in the Reign of *Josiah*. Chap. 1.

Azariah.

Serajah, who was slain by *Nebuchadnezzar* at the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

Jozedek was carried Captive into *Babylon*, from whence he never return'd.

The *Jews* themselves not only differ in the Number, but give a very scandalous Account of the High-Priests under the second Temple. The High-Priests under the second Temple (says the *Talmud*) got into the Office for Money; and some say, they destroy'd one another by Witchcraft; so that according to some there were fourscore High-Priests from the Return out of Captivity till the Destruction of the Temple. Others compute them to be fourscore and one, some fourscore and two, some fourscore and three, some fourscore and four, and some fourscore and five. This may serve as an Apology, if we cannot exactly reckon up the Persons after the Captivity; since the Number, by their own Confession, is so various and uncertain. Talm. Jeruf. Per. 1. in Joma.

Joshua, the Son of *Jozedek*. He was High-Priest all the Reign of *Cyrus* and *Ahasuerus*, and some part of the Time of *Darius*.

Joakim.

Eliashib.

Jojada.

Jonathan, or *Johanan*.

Jaddua.

Onias.

Simon, or *Simeon the Just*, of whom very honourable Mention is made in the *Hebrew* Writers.

Eleazar, the Brother of *Simeon*, who (if *Aristeas* and *Josephus* may be credited) sent the seventy Elders to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, to translate the Law into *Greek*.

Manasseh.

Onias, the Son of *Simeon the Just*.

Simon, the Son of *Onias*.

Onias,

Book II. *Onias*, the Son of *Simon*, who left a Son behind him very young, and was succeeded in the High-Prieſthood by his Brother *Jeſus*, who was likewiſe call'd

Jaſon, whoſe Succeſſor was *Onias*, his Brother, who had alſo the Name of

Menelaus.

Judas (called *Maccabæus*) from the four Acroſtick Letters he bore in his Enſign,) who obtained many great Victories, but was at laſt ſlain. In theſe Times of Confuſion one *Alcimus* had the Name of High-Prieſt: He was indeed of the right Line, but a Monſter of Miſchief and Impiety, and accordingly came to a moſt lamentable End.

Jonathan ſucceeded his Brother *Judas*: He was made High Prieſt by *Alexander* the Son of *Antiochus*, and confirm'd in that Office by *Antiochus* the Son of *Alexander*; he fought valiantly and with Succeſs, but was at laſt ſlain by *Tryphon*. His Succeſſor was

Simon, his Brother, a brave and fortunate General; but he fell by the Treachery of his Son-in-law.

John, called alſo *Hircanus*. He ſacked *Samaria*, deſtroy'd the Temple at *Gerizim*, ſlew many of the Wiſe Men at *Jeruſalem*, and, after an Adminiſtration of eighty years, eſpouſed and died in the Principles of the *Sadducees*.

Ariſtobulus, his Son, who aſſumed the Title and Dignity of a King.

Alexander, who continued the regal Title, fought many Battles, and died of a quartane Ague, which afflicted him three Years.

Hircanus, his Son, was made High-Prieſt; but his Mother *Alexandra*, ſupported by the *Phariſees*, govern'd the Kingdom.

Ariſtobulus, younger Brother to *Hircanus*, after the Death of their Mother, made War upon his Brother, whom he overcame, and forced to a private Life, and then uſurp'd the High-Prieſthood and the Kingdom. They both called in the *Romans* to their Aſſiſtance; and *Ariſtobulus* provoking *Pompey*

pey by his Misbehaviour, caused the sacking of *Jerusalem*, and the Subjection of the *Jews* to the *Roman* Yoke, which they never shook off. *Pompey* restored the High-Priesthood to *Hircanus*, and carried *Aristobulus*, and his Son *Antigonus*, and his two Daughters, Prisoners to *Rome*.

Alexander, the Son of *Aristobulus*, escaped the Hands of *Pompey*, and raising Commotions in *Judæa* affected the Kingdom; but he was suppress'd by *Gabinius* the *Roman* General.

Antigonus, another Son of *Aristobulus*, made his Escape from *Rome*, and by the Assistance of the *Parthians* deposed *Hircanus*, and took him Prisoner. He afterwards cut off his Ears, designing by that Blemish to make him incapable of the Priesthood; but this Usurper lost his Head at *Antioch*, by the Command of *Marc Anthony*, having been first crucified and whipt.

Ananelus, an inferior Priest, sent for from *Babylon* by *Herod*, and fixed in the High-Priesthood. This Promotion displeased *Mariamne* the Wife of *Herod*, who by her Importunity and Artifice got him deposed in Favour of her Brother.

Aristobulus, a Youth of singular Beauty, about fifteen years old, who, after a short Possession, was drowned by the Policy of *Herod* as he was swimming, and *Ananelus* again resumed the Priesthood.

Jesus, the Son of *Favens*, removed by *Herod*.

Simon, the Son of *Boethus*. He was but a Priest before; but *Herod* marrying his Daughter, made him High-Priest, and afterwards deposed him.

Matthias, the Son of *Theophilus*. He was deposed, and succeeded by

Jozarus, the Son of *Simon*, deposed by *Herod*.

Eleazar, whom King *Archelaus* fixed in the High-Priesthood.

Jesus, the Son of *Sie*, procured the Removal of *Eleazar*.

Jozarus again obtains the High-Priesthood, in whose time happen'd the taxing of *Judæa* under *Cyrenius*, and the Nativity of Christ. There were

were about eighteen Successions more, before the Wars of the *Jews* began, which ended in the Dissolution of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government. Upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, the High-Priesthood was abolished, after the Respect and Dignity of that Order had for many Years before been utterly extinguish'd.

CHAP. II.

The Consecration *of the High-Priest: The Pontifical Robes describ'd, the* Ephod, *the* Breast-plate, *the* Robe, *the* Plate of Gold, *the* Coat, *the* Drawers, *the* Girdle, *and the* Mitre: *The Form of* Anointing, *and the peculiar* Sacrifices *that attended the Solemnity.*

THE High-Priesthood among the *Hebrews* descended to the First-born, and the Rites of Admission into that Office were exceeding solemn and magnificent. The Ceremony of Consecration consisted in Washing, Robing with the Pontifical Vestments, Anointing, and the High-Priest was at last completed by peculiar Sacrifices. He was first to be wash'd; and for that purpose Water was brought from the Laver to wash him at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before he was permitted to enter into it. Whether the whole Body was wash'd is not expressly said; but it may probably be thought it was; for he was now look'd upon as wholly unclean, being unhallow'd; and therefore it is supposed he was wash'd all over, tho' being once cleansed, he had no occasion to do more when he went to minister than to wash his Hands and his Feet. This Ceremony was in common to the High Priest and Priests of a lower Order.

He was next to be robed with the sacred Vestments, which the *Hebrew* Doctors imagine to be

be inſeparable from the Prieſt-hood. Theſe Garments were eſteemed holy; for they might be worn by none but the High-Prieſt, and by him only in the time of his Miniſtration. There were ſome Garments peculiar to himſelf, which none of the other Prieſts might wear; and theſe were four, the *Breaſt-plate*, the *Ephod*, the *Robe*, and the *Plate of Gold*. There were four more which he alſo wore; but they were common to him with the other Prieſts; the *Coat*, the *Drawers*, the *Girdle*, and the *Bonnet*. Their *Bonnets* indeed, and his *Mitre*, were of a different Form; yet they are not conſider'd by the *Jews* as diſtinct Veſtments, being both Coverings of the Head; and they ſay that the High-Prieſt never wore at one time above eight ſorts of Garments, nor the lower above four. Theſe Veſtments were rich and magnificent, in order to make the Office the more reſpected, and to ſtrike Men with an awful Senſe of the divine Majeſty, whoſe Miniſters they ſaw appear in ſuch Grandeur, and not only ſeparated from other Men, but clothed in ſplendid and precious Garments, that they might look like Men of Quality and Honour. This ſacred Habit was made by the moſt excellent Artiſts, and the Matter of it was either of Woollen or Linen, nothing of Hair or Silk being uſed in its Contexture: The Gold, and Jewels, that were upon it, were rather for Ornament, than admitted into the Subſtance of it. But the Garments of the High-Prieſt, which the *Jews* call the *white Garments*, were certainly made of Linen; and his *Girdle* alſo was of the ſame, when he wore thoſe Garments on the great Day of Expiation. Chap. 2.

Of the Garments appointed for the High-Prieſt, the *Ephod* was a beautiful and ſplendid Veſtment, like that of the *Caracalla*, only without any Covering for the Head, made of *Byſſus* and Gold-thread interwoven, and adorn'd with the Colours of Blue, Purple and Scarlet. It was a Garment of the Breadth of the Back from Shoulder to Shoulder, and it hung behind from the Arm-holes to the Feet;

Book II. Feet; from it there came two Pieces under the Armholes, and met together and clasp'd over the Paps; and this was called the *Curious Girdle of the Ephod*, because both it and the *Ephod* were elegantly wrought of fine Twist and Gold. It had two Shoulder-pieces also, which went over the Priest's Shoulders, and were fastened to the *Ephod* behind, and to the *Girdle* before; and so the *Ephod* hung low behind like a Woman's Veil, and came but short before like some Workmen's Aprons, hanging over their Shoulders, and coming down but to their Breasts. Upon these Shoulder-pieces were two Beryl-stones set in Gold, in which the Names of the twelve Tribes were engraven, the six eldest upon that Stone that was upon the right Shoulder, the six younger on the other upon the left. The Letters were so equally divided, that there were twenty five on either Stone, and *Joseph*'s Name was written *Jehoseph* to make the Equality. Upon these Shoulder-pieces there were two Bosses of Gold near to these Stones, into which two Chains of Gold, which tied the *Breast-plate* to the *Ephod*, were so fasten'd, that the *Breast-plate* and *Ephod* might not be parted; and whoever wilfully separated them, incurr'd the Punishment of Whipping. It has been before observ'd, that the *Ephod* was a Vestment peculiar to the High-Priest; but because it is said, that *David* called to *Abiathar* to bring him the *Ephod*, some learned Men, particularly *Cunæus*, have imagined that the Kings of *Israel* might make use of the *Ephod*, as well as the High-Priest. But this is a wrong Inference, and not to be deduced from that Expression, which intends no more, than that the High-Priest should attend upon him with the *Ephod*, and inquire of God for him. And whereas it is said that *Samuel* minister'd unto the Lord, girded with a *linen Ephod*, it is not to be understood as if he wore an *Ephod* of the same sort as the High-Priest did; for the *Ephod* which the Priests, or any other Persons, are said to wear, is (for Distinction sake) always called an *Ephod* made

1 Sam. 30.

De Rep. Heb. lib. 1. cap. 14.

1 Sam. 2. 18.

made of fine Linen, which was not a facred, but (as I may call it) an honorary Veſtment, being a ſhort Garment hanging upon the Shoulders down to the middle of the Back, but without any *Girdle*, or curious Work in it; which, becauſe it bore ſome reſemblance to that of the High Prieſt's, was uſed by inferior Prieſts, to procure them Reſpect in their Miniſtrations, and by other Perſons of peculiar Excellencies, and upon ſolemn Occaſions. Chap. 2.

Next after the *Ephod* Directions are given in Scripture for making the *Breaſt-plate*, called the *Breaſt-plate of Judgment*; becauſe the High-Prieſt wore it when he went to conſult the divine Majeſty about the great Concerns of Religion and Government, and received ſuch Anſwers as directed them what to determine in dubious Caſes, either of War, or Peace. This Veſtment was a rich piece of Cloth of Gold, of the Length of two Spans, and its Breadth a Span; but being doubled, it was a Square of a Span both in Length and Breadth; from whence it follows that it was hollow; ſo that it may be compared to one of our Purſes; only it does not appear whether it was ſewed together on the Sides, or on one Side, or open on both Sides. Perhaps it was doubled, merely that it might be ſtronger, to bear the Weight of ſo many precious Stones, and of the Rings and Chains, not that any thing was to be put between it. This piece of Cloth was ſet with twelve precious Stones in four Rows, three in a Row; and theſe are called *Urim* and *Thummim*, which are eminently mentioned in Scripture, and famous for the inquiring by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and God's anſwering by them, the manner of which ſhall be explained in another place. Under the ſecond Temple, there was a *Breaſt-plate* made, and *Urim* and *Thummim*, that is, there were Stones ſet in the *Breaſt-plate*; but they were never inquired by, becauſe the Spirit of Prophecy was then departed. Upon each Stone was engraven the Name of one of the Sons of *Jacob*; and perhaps in the ſame

Book II. Order wherein they were engraven upon the Stones of the *Ephod*, which was according to their Birthright. The *Breaſt-plate* had four Rings, one at each Corner of the Square: To the two Rings on the upper part of the *Breaſt-plate* was faſtned a Chain of golden Wire, and above, the Chain was faſtned to the two Buttons on the Shoulder-pieces of the *Ephod*; ſo that the *Breaſt-plate* was ſupported by theſe two Chains, which hung upon the Buttons, as the *Breaſt-plate* did upon them. Upon the lower Corners of the *Breaſt-plate* were likewiſe two Rings of Gold; but they were not ſeen, being placed inward, lying as it were between the *Ephod* and the *Breaſt-plate*: Through theſe two lower Rings of the *Breaſt-plate* a blue Lace or Ribbon was put, and then through the Rings of the Ephod that was oppoſite to them; ſo that the Breaſt-plate and the Ephod were inſeparable, and tied together a little above the Girdle of the Ephod, and were not to be parted even out of the time of Miniſtration, but always continued ſo faſt together, that the Ephod could not be put on without the Breaſt-plate; and whoever attempted to divide them was to be beaten with forty Stripes. Without this ſplendid Veſtment the High Prieſt was never to enter into the holy Place, except once in a Year, upon a particular Buſineſs, to expiate the Sins of the People, when he had not on theſe Pontifical Garments, but was only clothed in white Linen.

No one was admitted to wear the *Robe*, but the High Prieſt. This was a Garment coming down to the Ankles, made of Cloth of a blue or ſky Colour, called alſo *the Coat of the Ephod*, becauſe the Ephod did gird it to him. The Form of it was in ſome meaſure like our Surplices, or Shirts without Sleeves, but with two Holes on the Sides, to let their Arms through; it was put on over their Heads, as appears by the Hole on the top, which was not cut croſswiſe from Shoulder to Shoulder, but longwiſe from the Back to the mid-

middle of the Breaſt. This Hole had a Binding round it, which contributed to its Beauty and Strength, which was not to be ſewed to it, but woven with it of one intire Piece. Upon the Skirts of this Veſtment towards the Bottom, where it touch'd the Feet, were ſeventy two little golden Bells with Clappers, and between every Bell was a Pomegranate of Needle-work; and tho' the Robe it ſelf was of one ſimple Colour, yet the Pomegranates were made of Yarn died blue, purple, and ſcarlet, and of fine Linen. The Deſign of theſe Bells was to give the People notice to fall to their Prayers, while the High Prieſt was offering Incenſe; and if he preſumed to miniſter without this Attire, it was an illegal Act, and unacceptable in the Sight of God. Chap. 2.

The *Plate of Gold* was worn by the High Prieſt alone. This was a thin piece of Gold two Fingers broad, and ſo long as to reach from one Ear to the other, being bound to the Forehead with a String, which was tied behind the Head, and thence was called a *Crown*, as all things are which compaſſed the Forehead. Upon this Plate was engraven *Holineſs to the Lord*, not by cutting the Letters deep in the Plate, but by making them protuberant, like thoſe that are made by a Seal upon Wax. This Plate hung by a Ribband of Blue, by which it was faſtned upon the Mitre, and ſo it hung in the Fore-front of it; from whence it is evident, that this Plate reach'd from Ear to Ear before, but no part of it behind, that is, it was an half Circle, not a whole, compaſſing only the Forepart of the Head, not, like other Crowns, encircling it round.

The Veſtments worn by the High Prieſt in common with the Prieſts of a lower Order, were the *Mitre* or *Bonnet*, the *Coat*, the *Girdle*, and the *Breeches* or *Drawers*. The *Mitre*, according to the Deſcription of *Joſephus*, was a Bonnet without a Crown, which did not cover the whole Head, but only about the middle of it. It was made of Linen, and was a long kind of Swaddles of a

large Breadth, which he wrapped many times about his Head, and complicated it in and out. The wrapping or warping of it about his Head was after the manner of the *Turkish* Turbant, only it wanted a Crown, and was open on the top, fitting on his Brows after the manner of a Garland. The Mitre was peculiar to the High Priest, though the Bonnets of the lower Priests were almost of the same Form. The Difference was, that they came lower down upon the Forehead than the Mitre, and rose up higher like an Hillock: For the Mitre did not cover the Forehead at all, and was flatter than the Bonnets, but much broader, consisting of more Folds round, and did not improperly resemble a half Sphere.

The *Coat* was made of fine Linen, and therefore it was white. The Form of it was not much unlike one of our Shirts, with Sleeves coming down to the Wrist, but made pretty close to the Body, and so long as to reach down to the Heels. It was the most inward of all the Priestly Garments, being next to the Body: And the *Hebrew* Doctors say, that if the High Priest happen'd to have a Plaister upon a Sore between his inward Garments and his Skin; or if his Garments had a Rent in them, or were stain'd with Dirt, or any Pollutions, his Ministration was invalid, and of no effect. This Coat, though it be not mentioned in the Description of it, no doubt had a Slit in the Neck, by which it was put over the Head, and then tied about the Neck with Strings. It was woven in the way of checquer or diced Work, like Diaper, and was worn by all the Priests in their Ministration, without any Difference; and such a one did the High Priest wear, whilst he was an ordinary Priest.

The *Girdle* was a long Swaddle, made of twined Linen and Worsted of divers Colours, which went many times about them over their Paps and downward. Such were the Girdles of all the Priests, which they wore all the Year, the High Priest as well as the rest, except upon the Day

of

of Expiation, when he had on a Girdle of fine Linen only. *Josephus* asserts (if we may believe him) that these Girdles were two and thirty Ells long, and four Fingers broad, being hollow within like our modern Sashes. When the Priests were not in the Act of Ministration, both Ends of them hung down to their very Feet, for *Comelineſs-sake*, as the same Author expresses it; but when they went about any holy Work belonging to their Office, they threw them over the left Shoulder, that they might be no hindrance to them. The Use of this Girdle was partly to keep the Priests warm in their thin Clothing, but principally to strengthen their Backs, in the hard Service they often met with, in tugging with the Beasts that they were to slay, and lifting at them when they were killed. Chap. 2.

When it is said, that the *checquer'd Coat* was next the Skin, it is to be understood from the Loins upward, and thicker clad were not the ordinary Priests, than with that thin Diaper Shirt, for so we may call it; but upon their Thighs they had linen *Breeches*, or *Drawers*, to cover their Nakedness, either when they stood upright aloft upon the Altar, or when they stooped down to any Work of the Service, either there, or in any other Place. They were bound about the Loins with Strings, which ran through the Top or Waisteband of them, that they might be drawn straiter or looser as they pleased, and came down the Thighs as far as to their Knees, the Design of them being no more than to cover those Parts which ought not to be exposed: For tho' they had a Coat over their whole Body, yet that being loose and wide below, by some Accident or other those Parts might have been seen, which ought to be secret; and tho' the Linen Breeches are mentioned in the last place, yet they were put on the first of all the Sacerdotal Garments. The High Priest having put on his Breeches, Coat, and Girdle (which were common to all Priests) was clothed with his Robe, and next

with the Ephod and Breaſt-plate, which were inſeparable, and laſt of all with his Mitre and golden Crown.

Thus was the High Prieſt dreſs'd exceedingly magnificent; for beſides thoſe Veſtments that were common to him with all the Prieſts, which were very coſtly, he had others far more noble, particularly the *Ephod* and its *Girdle*, the *Breaſt-plate* ſet with Stones of great Value, the *Robe*, and the *Crown* of Gold. The two Stones alſo on the Shoulders of the Ephod were not only precious in their kind, but valuable for their Bigneſs, being ſo large, that twelve Names were engraven upon them, containing ſix and thirty Letters. Without the holy Garments, neither the High Prieſt, nor thoſe of a lower Order, were to appear in their Miniſtrations; and ſuch Care was taken that the Habit in common to both ſhould be for Glory and Beauty, that when their Veſtments were foul, they were never waſh'd; nor were they repair'd, when they had any breach in them; but new ones were bought at the publick Charge, and when they were over-worn, they were return'd to the Publick again, and ravell'd to make Yarn for Candles, that were uſed for Light at the joyful Feſtivity of drawing Water, on the laſt and great Day of the Feaſt of Tabernacles.

It muſt be obſerv'd, that neither the High Prieſt, nor any of a lower Order, wore any thing upon their Hands or their Feet in the time of Service, but ſtood bare-footed, were it never ſo cold; and though bare-footed, they might not ſtand upon any thing to keep their Feet from the cold Pavement, but were obliged to ſtand barely upon that, were the Service never ſo long, and the Seaſon never ſo ſharp. The Reaſon of their Bare-footedneſs was, becauſe of the Holineſs of the Ground; and the Cauſe why they ſtood only upon the bare Stones, was to ſhew their Fervour and Zeal to the Service.

The

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The High Prieſt being thus array'd in his ſacred Habiliments, the next Ceremony was his Anointing, which was peculiar to himſelf. The Ingredients of this Oil were five hundred Shekels of pure Myrrh, and half ſo much of ſweet Cinnamon, two hundred and fifty Shekels of ſweet Calamus, five hundred Shekels of Caſſia, after the Shekels of the Sanctuary, and of Oil Olive a Hin. The making up of theſe Simples into the Compound of the anointing Oil was thus: The Spices (except the Myrrh, which was liquid) were bruiſed every one apart and by themſelves, and then were they mingled, and boiled in clean Water, till all their Strength was come out into that Decoction; which Decoction ſtrained, and having Oil put to it, was again boiled to the height of an Ointment, and ſo reſerv'd. This anointing Oil was only in uſe in the Times of the Tabernacle and the firſt Temple; and whilſt it continued, the High Prieſts ſucceſſively were anointed with it. The Manner was thus: It was poured upon the top of his Head, which was bare, and ran down his Face upon his Beard; and he that anointed him drew with his Finger the Figure of the *Greek* Letter *Chi* upon his Forehead. The Reaſon of the Form of the Letter *Chi*, was to diſtinguiſh the anointing of the High Prieſt from that of their Kings, who were anointed in the Form of a Circle or Crown. The High Prieſt (the *Jews* ſay) was anointed by the *Sanhedrim*, and when the Oil failed, he was clothed in the Pontifical Garments. If he were anointed, he was anointed daily ſeven Days together; and if he were not (when the holy Oil was gone) he was clothed with the eight Veſtments of the Prieſthood, every Day, for ſeven Days, and he was called *the Inſtall'd by the Garments.*

Theſe Garments the High-Prieſt was obliged to wear in his ſacred Miniſtrations; but if he went out of the Temple, he was bound to unrobe, and uſe his ordinary Apparel, which he

Book II. wore in common with other Men; but upon extraordinary Occasions he was permitted to appear abroad in his sacred Vestments. Such was the Case when *Simeon* the High-Priest went out in his holy Garments to meet *Alexander the Great*, and by the Solemnity and Splendor of his Appearance mov'd the fierce young Conqueror to Clemency. The High-Priest, to compleat this Part of his Consecration, was clothed seven Days successively in his sacred Habit; the Design of which Repetition was, that he might be introduc'd into his Office with great Solemnity and Deliberation, and might learn to appear in his Dress after a decent, or rather magnificent manner, before he undertook to minister. To preserve these Garments, he had a Chamber, or Vestry, peculiar to himself, where they were laid up when he put them off, as the Robes of Kings are in their Wardrobe. They were afterwards kept by the *Asmonean* Princes, in a strong Fortress call'd *Baris*, which overlook'd the Temple. Here *Herod*, when he came to the Crown, found them, and here he continued still to keep them in the same Place; and so did *Archelaus*, his Successor, and the *Romans* after him; all upon an Opinion, that their having the Pontifical Robes in their Possession, would be a means to keep the *Jews* the better in Obedience. The Custom was, to lay them up in a Cabinet made of purpose, under the Seals of the High-Priest and the Treasurer of the Temple; and when they were wanted for the sacred Solemnities, on which Days they were used, they exhibited their Seals to the Captain of the Castle, and then had the Robes deliver'd to them; and when the Solemnities were over, they were then again laid up, under the same Seals, in the same Place. And this was the Practice, till the Temple, this Fortress, and the Robes in it, were all destroy'd, in the Deflagration and total Destruction of the City of *Jerusalem*, by *Titus* and the *Roman* Army. The High-Priest, if he thought fit, might wear these Garments every

Day,

Day, even after his Miniſtration was over, provided he did not go out of the Temple, or without the outward Court; but neither he, nor the inferior Prieſts, were allow'd to ſleep in their ſacred Habits. The Veſtments peculiar to the High-Prieſts deſcended from Father to Son; for they did not decay, as the Tunick and Breeches did; but when they were worn out, they were not ravell'd into Yarn, as the Garments were that belong'd in common to the High-Prieſt and the Prieſts of a lower Order; but they were hid in ſome ſecret Place, and never ſeen more.

The laſt Rite of Conſecration, that was uſed upon *Aaron* and his Sons, when they were firſt ſet apart, conſiſted in ſolemn Sacrifices, which were three: The firſt was an *Offering for Sin*; for till their Sins were expiated, they were not fit to offer any thing to God, much leſs to offer for the Sins of others. The next was an Holocauſt, or *whole Burnt-Offering*, as a Gift or Preſent whereby they were recommended to God. And the third was a *Peace-Offering*, on which they made a Feaſt, and by that were initiated into God's Family. And theſe Sacrifices were repeated ſeven Days. There was likewiſe a *Meat-Offering* to be offer'd, Bread being neceſſary at a Table where there is Fleſh; and this Oblation conſiſted of three Parts, unleavened Bread, unleavened Cakes temper'd with Oil, and unleavened Wafers (or thin Cakes like to our Pancakes) anointed with Oil, before they were put into the Pan to be fried. All theſe were to be made of Wheaten Flower, and in all made but one Meat-Offering: They were to be put into one Baſket, and brought to the Door of the Tabernacle, to be preſented there to God, together with the other Sacrifices. The Victim for a Sin-Offering was a Bullock, which *Moſes* killed, though he was never conſecrated after the manner of *Aaron*; but was made a Prieſt, for this peculiar purpoſe, by an extraordinary Commiſſion. Some of the Blood he put upon the Horns of the Altar of Burnt-Offering,

as

as was expreſly requir'd in other Sin-Offerings; the reſt he poured at the Bottom of the Altar, where there was a Trench to carry it away. The Fat that covered the Inwards, the greateſt Lobe of the Liver, the two Kidneys, and the Fat upon them, he burnt upon the Altar; but the Fleſh, and the Skin, and the Dung, were carried without the Camp, where the Aſhes were poured out and burnt, as a thing abominable. The Sacrifice for a Burnt-Offering was a Ram, which, after he had ſprinkled the Blood round about upon the Altar, he cut in pieces, and wholly burnt. This would not have been received as a Burnt-Offering, if their Sins had not been expiated by the foregoing Sacrifice. A Ram was likewiſe appointed for a Peace-Offering. This was peculiarly called *the Ram of Conſecration*, and the Blood of it was not put upon the Horns of the Altar (as in the firſt Sacrifice) nor merely ſprinkled round about the Altar (as in the ſecond) but put upon *Aaron* and his Sons; and firſt upon the Tip of their right Ears, to ſignify (as the *Jewiſh* Doctors diſcourſe) that they ſhould attend to the divine Preſcriptions; and then upon their right Thumbs and great Toes (in which lies the Strength of the Hands and Feet) to denote their ready and ſtrenuous Performance of their Duty: And it being put upon the Tip of their right Ear, and the Thumb of their right Hand, and the great Toe of their right Foot, it may well be thought to ſignify the moſt exact and perfect Obedience, the right Hand being every where repreſented as the moſt excellent, and ſtrongeſt to do Execution. Some of the Blood of this Victim was likewiſe ſprinkled upon the Altar; and a Quantity of it being mingled with ſome of the anointing Oil, was ſprinkled upon *Aaron*, and his holy Veſtments, and upon his Sons, and their Garments; by which Rite they were conſecrated and ſeparated to a holy Uſe. Then was the Fat, the Rump, the Fat that covered the Inteſtines, the Caul above the Liver, the two Kidneys, and the

the Fat upon them, the right Shoulder, one Loaf of unleavened Bread, one Cake, and one Wafer of the Meat-Offering abovementioned, put into the Hands of *Aaron* and of his Sons; and *Moſes* having his Hands under theirs, they were waved by them all up and down all manner of Ways, towards the Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South, to ſignify, that he, to whom the Offering was made, was Lord of the whole World. After they had wav'd them, they were deliver'd again into the Hands of *Moſes*; who, as Prieſt at this time, laid them upon the Altar and burnt them. The Breaſt was given to *Moſes*, as the Perſon officiating and offering the Sacrifice; and the Shoulder, though in this peculiar Caſe it was burnt, yet did ever afterwards belong to the Prieſt. The Fleſh of the Ram that remained, and the reſt of the Bread in the Baſket, was to be eaten by *Aaron*, and his Sons, only, at the Door of the Tabernacle; which ſhews that this Sacrifice had ſomething peculiar in it from other Peace-Offerings, that might be carried home and eaten, after God and the Prieſts had had their Parts. What they were not able to eat, was to be immediately burnt; becauſe this Oblation had a more than ordinary Sanctity in it. And thus, after theſe Sacrifices, and the other Ceremonies of Conſecration, had been repeated ſeven Days, was *Aaron* and his Sons ſet apart to miniſter in holy Things; which Rites of Initiation were always uſed before a High-Prieſt could enter upon his Office: But the Sons of *Aaron* being once conſecrated by *Moſes*, by cloathing them with the holy Veſtments which they wore, by ſprinkling them with the Blood and the holy Oil, and offering for them the abovementioned Sacrifices, their Poſterity were never after conſecrated; becauſe they ſucceeded to the Prieſthood by hereditary Right; which Neceſſity of Succeſſion, many learned Men ſuppoſe, was not admitted in the High-Prieſthood.

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Outram de Sacrif. lib. 1. c. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The particular Privileges and Immunities of the High-Prieſt; *the Manner of inquiring of God by* Urim *and* Thummim.

THE High-Prieſt, when he was once inſtall'd, generally continued in the Office during Life. None, ſays *Joſephus*, was depoſed from this Honour when he had once obtain'd it, that is, not by any legal Depoſition. But towards the Decay of the Republick this Privilege was broken, and High-Prieſts were frequently thruſt in and out by Power and Money. In ſome Caſes there was no Difference made between the High-Prieſt and the Prieſts of a lower Order; for beſides ſome of the Rites of Conſecration that were common to both, they both burnt Incenſe and offer'd Sacrifices; they blew the Trumpets, ſometimes to ſound an Alarm to War, ſometimes to aſſemble the People and their Rulers; they ſlew the Sacrifices, they inſtructed the People, and judg'd of Leproſy. And in ſome reſpects there was no Difference between him and others of the People: He might be a Witneſs in Cauſes, and might be witneſſed againſt; he might be a Judge, and might be judged. If he committed an Offence which by the Law deſerv'd whipping, the *Great Sanhedrim* whipt him, and then he was reſtor'd again to his Dignity. And ſeveral other Inſtances might be mention'd, in which the High-Prieſt, in point of Law and Practice, was upon a Level with other Men.

Ant. lib. 15. cap. 3.

Godwyn's Moſes and Aaron, b. 1.

But then in other Caſes he was guarded with peculiar Privileges and Honours. To heighten the Dignity of his Office, he was obliged to marry a Virgin, one who was not ſo much as eſpouſed to any other Perſon; nor was any ſort of

of Virgin thought fit to be his Wife, but only one that was newly come out of her Minority, and had not yet attain'd to her full Puberty. This (the *Hebrew* Doctors say) is to be understood of the High-Priest after he was in his Office; for if he had married a Widow before, (which was permitted to the common Priests) he was to keep her, and not to put her away when he was advanced to the Pontifical Dignity. It was peculiar to the High-Priest, that besides other Women which no Priests might marry, he alone was forbidden to marry a Widow. In this Law is prohibited not only a Woman that had been marry'd; but if she had been merely espoused, it was unlawful for the High-Priest to take her for his Wife. He was not allowed to marry the Wife of his Brother, to which others were obliged; nor a Woman born of a Person whom a High-Priest was forbidden to marry: As, if the High-Priest had taken a Widow, and had a Daughter by her, that Child might not be married, though a Virgin, by a succeeding High-Priest; but he was to marry a Virgin of *Israel*; and though he was not confined to his own Tribe, yet she was to be nobly born, in order to preserve the Dignity of his Function. It is generally supposed that Polygamy was not allowed to the High-Priest, who was to have but one Wife at a time, though other Men were permitted to have more: If he took another, he was to give a Bill of Divorce to one of them before the great Day of Expiation, otherwise he was uncapable to perform the Offices of it; but if his Wife died, it was not unlawful for him to marry again. Chap. 3.

The High-Priest was exempt from the common Laws of Mourning: He was not to let his Hair grow neglected, which was a Funeral Ceremony, nor was he to rend his Clothes; though the *Talmudists* will have it, as *Cunæus* observes, that he might rend his Garments at the Bottom about his Feet, but not at the Top down to his Breast. He was forbidden to go into the House Lib. 2. de Rep. Heb. cap. 2.

where

Book II. where the Body of his Father or his Mother lay dead, (which was permitted to the inferior Priests) and consequently he was not to make any external Signs of Mourning for Son or Daughter, Brother or Sister. But before his Anointing and Consecration, and putting on the holy Garments, it was not unlawful for him to attend the Funeral of his Father; and therefore *Eleazar* was present when *Aaron* died, being as yet in a lower Ministry, and not compleatly advanced to the High-Priesthood. If the High-Priest was in the Sanctuary when he heard of the Death of his Father or Mother, he was not to stir from thence till he had finish'd his Ministry; for he had a little House, after the Temple was built, within the Precincts of it, where he commonly remained all the Day-time, which was called the Parlour of the High-Priest. At Night he went to his own Dwelling-house, which was at *Jerusalem*, and no where else. There he might perform all the Offices of a Mourner (except uncovering his Head, rending his Clothes, or going into the House where the dead Body was) and there the People came to comfort him; and sitting on the Ground, while he sate in his Chair, at the Funeral-Feast, they said, *Let us be thy Expiation* (that is, let all the Grief that is upon thee fall upon us) to which he answer'd, *Blessed be ye from Heaven.*

Sanhed. cap. 2. n. 1.

There are other Marks of Honour bestow'd by the *Jews* upon their High-Priest. As all the lower Priests were esteemed holy, he was always accounted the *most holy*. He was, says *Maimonides*, to excel the rest of his Brethren in five Perfections, in the Comelineſs of his Body, in Strength, in Riches, in Wisdom, and in a beautiful Complexion; and if the Heir of the High-Priest had all the other Accomplishments, and was not the most wealthy among his Brethren, it was thought just that so great a Personage should be made most rich by the Contributions of the other Priests. He was only second to the King; and

In Chele Mikdasch. cap. 5.

as

as no Person of mean Descent or Occupation could be advanced to the regal Dignity, so neither could he into the High-Priesthood: And some among the *Jews* go so far as to say, that the High-Priest was as valuable as the whole People of *Israel*. He was never to converse with the Commonalty, or shew himself naked to them; and therefore he was to avoid all publick Baths, and be cautious of going to Feasts and Entertainments, the better to secure the Reverence due to the Sanctity of his Character. When he went abroad to those that were in Mourning, he was always attended by other Priests: He was to clip his Hair twice a Week, but not to suffer a Razor to come upon his Head: He was to be every Day in the Sanctuary, and not to go to his House above twice in one Day: He was not oblig'd to give Testimony in any Cases, but what related to the King, and in those he could not be forc'd but by the great *Sanhedrim*: He was to have but one Wife at one time. When he went into the Temple, he was attended by three Priests. He was not bound to sacrifice by Lot, (as the other Priests were) but might do it as often as he pleased, and take whatever Sacrifice he thought fit. Chap. 3. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. 4.

But the greatest Privilege and Dignity of the High-Priest consisted in his performing the most holy Parts of divine Worship. He was the Mediator, as it were, between God and the People, to appease the Divine Anger, and to make Atonement for the Sins of the whole Nation: He was oblig'd to offer a Meat-Offering every day at his own Charges, half of it in the Morning, and half at Night, which was a distinct Offering from that which attended the daily Burnt-Offerings: He alone was permitted to enter into the *Holy of Holies*, and that but once in a Year, upon the Day of Expiation; and, upon great Occasions, to enquire of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*. Levit. 6. 20.

His Office upon the Day of Expiation will be explained hereafter. Concerning the *Urim* and *Thummim* many have been the Opinions of learned Men;

Book II. Men; but it seems safest to hold that the Words *Urim* and *Thummim* signify only a divine Virtue and Power given to the *Breast-plate* of the High-Priest in its Consecration, by which an oraculous Answer was obtained from God, when he was consulted by the High-Priest with it on, in the manner he directed: And this was called *Urim* and *Thummim*, to express the *Clearness* and *Perfection* which these oracular Answers always carried with them; for *Urim* signifies *Light*, and *Thummim Perfection*. These Answers were not enigmatical and ambiguous, like the *Heathen* Oracles, but clear and evident, and never fell short of Perfection, either with regard to Fulness in the Answer, or Certainty in the Event. The use made of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, was to ask Council of God, in difficult and momentous Cases, relating to the whole State of *Israel*. For this purpose the High-Priest did put on his Robes, and over them the *Breast-plate* in which the *Urim* and *Thummim* were, and then presented himself before God to ask Council of him. But he was not to do this for any private Person, but only for the King, for the President of the *Sanhedrim*, for the General of the Army, or for some other great Prince or publick Governor in *Israel*; and not for any private Affairs, but such only as related to the publick Interest of the Nation, either in Church, or State. The Place where he presented himself before God, was before the Ark of the Covenant, not within the Veil of the *Holy of Holies* (for there he never enter'd but once a Year, on the great Day of Expiation) but without the Veil in the holy Place; and there standing with his Robes and Breast-plate on, and his Face turned directly towards the Ark, and the Mercy-seat over it, upon which the divine Presence rested, he proposed what he wanted to be resolved about: And directly behind him, at some Distance without the holy Place, perhaps at the Door (for farther no Layman could approach, if he could go so far) stood the Person upon whose account the Council was ask'd, whether

whether it were the King, or any other publick Officer of the Nation; and there, with all Humility and Devotion, expected the Answer that should be given. Chap. 3.

But how this Answer was deliver'd has occasion'd great Dispute; though it seems plain from Scripture, that it was given by an audible Voice from the Mercy-seat, which was within, behind the Veil. There it was that *Moses* went to ask Council of God in all Cases, and from thence he was answer'd by an audible Voice. In the same way did God afterwards communicate his Will to the Governors of *Israel*, as often as he was consulted by them; only with this Difference, that whereas *Moses*, through extraordinary Indulgence, had immediate Access to the divine Presence, and God did commune with him, as it were, Face to Face; no other Person was admitted thither to ask Council of God, but through the Mediation of the High-Priest, who, in his stead, asked Council for him by *Urim* and *Thummim*; that is, by presenting himself with his Breast-plate on, over all his other Robes, before the Veil, exactly over-against the Mercy-seat, where the divine Presence rested. And when he thus presented himself in due manner, according to the Prescription of the divine Law, God gave him an Answer in the same manner as he did to *Moses*; that is, by an audible Voice from the Mercy-seat; for in many Instances which we have in Scripture, of God's being consulted this way, the Answer in every one of them, except two, is introduc'd with, *the Lord said*. And when the *Israelites* made a Peace with the *Gibeonites*, they are blamed, because they did not ask Counsel *at the Mouth of God*; both which Phrases seem plainly to imply a vocal Answer. And for this reason it is, that the Holy of Holies, the Place where the Ark and the Mercy-seat stood, from whence this Answer was given, is so often in Scripture called the *Oracle*; because from thence the divine Oracles of God were deliver'd to such as asked

Council of him. It is variously conjectur'd by learned Men when this *Urim* and *Thummim* absolutely ceas'd: It is certain there is no Instance of it in Scripture during the first Temple, and it was wholly wanting in the second. And hence came that Saying among the *Jews*, that the holy Spirit spake to the *Israelites*, during the Tabernacle, by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first Temple by the Prophets, and under the second by *Bath-Kol*.

CHAP. IV.

The Deputies *of the High-Priest*, *the* Anointed for the Wars, *and the* Sagan, *or second Priest.*

THOUGH there was to be but one High-Priest at a time, yet he sometimes deputed his Power, and appointed a Substitute; particularly one who went with the Armies of *Israel* to the Wars, and carried with him the Ephod and Breast-plate, that he might ask Counsel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim* in all difficult Emergencies that might happen: And for this purpose there was an Ark, or Coffer made, in which the Ephod and Breast-plate were put, and which was carried by the *Levites* on their Shoulders, as the *Ark of the Covenant* was. That this Person might be the better qualified to act in the Place of the High-Priest, and to ask Counsel, he was consecrated to the Office by the holy anointing Oil, as the High-Priest was; and upon that account was call'd *The Anointed for the Wars*. But how he receiv'd his Answer is not so easy to determine. It is certain there was no Mercy-seat in the Camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the Oracle, as there was in the Tabernacle; and yet that such Oracles were given in the Camp is certain, from several Instances which we

we have of it in Scripture; for *David*, by the Ephod and Breast-plate only, asked Council of God three several times in the Case of *Keilah*, and twice at *Ziklag*, once in the Pursuit of those who had burnt that City, and again on his going from thence to *Hebron*, there to take Possession of the Kingdom of *Judah* upon the Death of *Saul*; and at all these times he had an Answer given him, though it is certain that the *Ark of the Covenant* was not then present with him. It is most reasonable to suppose, that since God allowed that Counsel should be thus asked of him in the Camp without the Ark, as well as in the Tabernacle where the Ark was, that the Answer was deliver'd in the same manner by an audible Voice. The Priest anointed for the Wars, in all probability, had a Tent in the Camp, on purpose there erected for this Use, in which a Part was separated by a Veil, in the same manner as the Holy of Holies was in the Tabernacle; and that when he asked Counsel of God in the Camp, he appeared there before that Veil, in the same manner as the High-Priest, on the like Occasion, did before that in the Tabernacle; and that the Answer was given from behind it, though no Ark or Mercy-seat was there. The Office of this Priest *anointed* for the Wars, was likewise to blow with the Trumpets, and to make the following Speech at the Head of the Army, when they were preparing to join Battle: *Hear, O* Israel, *you approach this Day unto Battle against your Enemies; let not your Hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified, because of them; for the Lord your God is he that goeth with you to fight for you against your Enemies to save you.* When they first went out, he exhorted all new Builders, Planters, and married Men, to return back; and when they were drawn up in Battalia, he advised all that were faint-hearted to leave the Army and go home.

Chap. 4.

1 Sam. 23.
1 Sam. 30. 8.
2 Sam. 2. 1.

Deut. 20. 2, 3.

The High-Priest had likewise another Deputy, that was to act for him in divine Offices, and in

Book II. the ſacred Service of the Temple; and this Perſon was called the *Sagan*, or *ſecond Prieſt*: He was ſometimes called High-Prieſt, and was the ſame with the *Ruler of the Temple*. The Word *Sagan* is rarely to be met with in Scripture; but both the Name and the Dignity is very commonly known and uſed in the *Hebrew* Writers. It is certain that he was Vicegerent, and next to the High-Prieſt; but under what Notion he came into this Deputation is diſputed. One Conjecture about this Matter is, that againſt the Day of Expiation, when the High-Prieſt was to go into the Holy Place, they appointed another Prieſt who might ſupply the ſolemn Work of that Day, if any Uncleanneſs befel the High-Prieſt himſelf. *Joſephus* gives one Example when the Duty of the Day of Expiation was carried on by ſuch a Subſtitute. But this Opinion makes the *Sagan* uſeful but for one Week in the Year; whereas it appears by the *Jewiſh* Records, that he was in continual Office all the Year through. Some therefore imagine that the *Sagan* was to ſucceed the High-Prieſts, and in his Saganſhip was a Candidate for that Office; and that no one could be High-Prieſt, unleſs he had been *Sagan* firſt. But there are two Arguments that oppoſe this Opinion: The firſt is, that the High-Prieſts, eſpecially after the Time of *Herod*, were made by the arbitrary Power of the Governors; and therefore it is to be ſuppoſed, that they never conſider'd whether they had been *Sagans* or not. The other is, becauſe in all the *Old Teſtament*, when the Succeſſion to the High-Prieſthood was fair and legal, and it was always known who was to be the ſucceeding High-Prieſt, yet there is no mention of the Word *Sagan*, or his Office, but in two Places, where *Zephaniah* is called the *Second Prieſt*, whom the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* calls the *Sagan*. Now unleſs he were the Son of *Serajah*, which was never imagined, it was impoſſible for him to arrive at the Prieſthood, provided the Temple had eſcaped the *Babylonian*

Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 18.

2 Kings 25. 18. Jer. 52. 24.

Fire

Fire and Destruction. To discover therefore what the *Sagan* was, and under what Notion he came into his Office, it is to be observed, that he is most commonly called *the Sagan of the Priests*; from whence it seems, that his Office related as much, if not more, to the Priests below him, as to the High-Priest above him: And the best Conception that can be form'd of him, is, that he was as the High-Priest's Substitute, in his Absence to oversee, and in his Presence to assist in the Care of the Affairs of the Temple, and the Service of the Priests; for though in some Particulars his Attendance respected the Person of the High-Priest, yet his Office also related to the Priests below him. And *Maimonides* observes, that all the Priests were at the Command of the *Sagan*. His Duty to the High-Priest was to assist him in the Execution of his Office; especially if the High-Priest was a Man of weak Abilities, or other Defects, that made him incapable to act himself. For this purpose the *Sagan* was to be a Man of Learning and Experience in the Laws and Rituals; because he was concerned in the Service of the Temple. He (as well as the Priest *anointed* for the War) stood at the High-Priest's right Hand, and had as much Respect paid him by the inferior Priests, as the High-Priest himself.

Chap. 4.

In Kele Mik. Per. 4.

CHAP. V.

The Order of the Priests, the Katholikin, *the seven* Immarcalim, *the* Gizbarim, Overseers, Presidents, &c.

THE next in order to be consider'd are the Priests; but some even of these being of a higher Rank than others, they shall be spoken of according to their several Stations, Degrees, and Employments they had in divine Offices, and the Service of the Temple.

Book II.

As the *Sagan* was a Substitute to the High-Priest, so he had two Substitutes under him, called *Katholikin*, who were Officers of principal Note in the Temple, and had but two above them, the High-Priest and the *Sagan*; and whereas there were three common Treasurers of the Temple Stock, (as will soon be observ'd) so these two were Head Treasurers and Overseers over them, in some manner resembling the Constitution of the Presidents in the *Persian* Empire, where a hundred and twenty Princes were set over a hundred and twenty Provinces, and three Presidents were appointed over all these to take account of them. *Maimonides* gives this short Character of these *Katholikin*: "They were to be to the *Sagan*, as the "*Sagan* was to the High-Priest, Substitutes and "Assistants, and next in Place and Honour." The Business of the Temple more especially consisted in its Service, and the Management of its Revenue. Now, as there were inferior Priests that perform'd the daily Service, and as there were Treasurers of a lower Order that receiv'd the Oblations, and whatever was brought into the common Stock; so these four Persons especially, the High-Priest, the *Sagan*, and the two *Katholikin*, were Overseers both of the one and the other, that the Treasury might be properly disposed for the Use of the Temple, and that the sacred Service might be perform'd as it ought to be.

To these we may add the seven *Immarcalin* (for that was their Number, and they could be no less) Men whose peculiar Office it is difficult to find out; only it is agreed, that they carried the Keys of the seven Gates of the Court, and one could not open them without the rest. Some add, that there were seven Rooms at the seven Gates, where the holy Vessels and Vestments were laid up; and these seven Men kept the Keys, and had the Charge of them. It seems that these seven were perpetual in their Office, as well as were the High-Priest, *Sagan*, and *Katholikin*,

tholikin, and they had the Custody of the Keys of the Court; but the opening and shutting of the Doors they committed to inferior Officers, to some of the Seniors of every Course, as it came in; and that they had not only the Disposal of these Keys, but also the Keys of the Wardrobes, and of the Rooms of the several Vessels, and were Inspectors over them, and had the Management of them for the Use of the Temple. Chap. 5.

It was an establish'd Tradition, that the *Gizbarin* were not to be less than three, and they were as Substitutes to the *Immarcalin*. These Men were the first Receivers and Treasurers of all things that belong'd and was dedicated to the Treasury of the Temple; as the Half shekel Money of every *Israelite*, the Vessels offer'd to the Service, Things vow'd or devoted, and the Thing vow'd or devoted that was to be redeem'd; they stated the Price of the Redemption, and received the Money. Now these were as Subcollectors and Subtreasurers; for what they received they were to account for to the seven *Immarcalin*; and both these and the *Immarcalin* to the *Katholikin*; and all under the Inspection of the High-Priest and *Sagan*. These several Officers, we have described, were as a constant and standing Council, for the continual Management of the Service of the Temple, and the Ministers that belong'd to it: They had the Charge of the Revenue, the Vessels, and Vestments, and for this purpose they kept their Sitting in the Chamber of *Parhedrin*: They were called the Consistory of the Priests, and Counsellors of the Temple; but when they grew corrupt, and embezzel'd the Money and the Stock of the Temple, they had no other Title than *Parhedroi*, or *Sitters*. These may well be supposed to be the *Elders of the Priesthood*, to whom the High-Priest was deliver'd by the *Sanhedrim*, to prepare him for the right Execution of his Office upon the great Day of Expiation.

The next in order were the *Chief-Priest* of every Course that served interchangeably its Week.

The *Chief* of every Family that served in that Course.

Besides these, there were fifteen *Overseers*, or *Presidents*, over fifteen several Companies, in so many several Employments.

The Overseer concerning the Times, whose Office it was, either himself, or by his Deputies, when it was time to begin divine Service, to publish with a loud Voice, *O ye* Priests *to your Service*; *O ye* Levites *to your Desks*; and *O ye* Israelites *to your Station*. And upon his Proclamation they all obey'd, and repair'd to their several Duties.

The Overseer of shutting the Doors; by whose Order they were opened or shut, and by whose Appointment the Trumpets sounded when they were open'd. He was a Person appointed by the *Immarcalin* for this Office; for those seven Officers had the Charge and Disposal of the Keys of the seven Gates of the Court.

The Overseer of the Guards. This Officer was called *the Man of the Mountain of the House*. His Business was to go his Rounds every Night among the Guards of the *Levites*, to see if they kept their Posts; and if he found any one asleep, he cudgel'd him, and set his Coat on fire.

The Overseer of the Singers. He appointed every Day who should sing and blow the Trumpets.

The Overseer of the Cymbal Musick. As the Officer above took care to order the Voices, the Trumpets, and strung Instruments, so this had the Management of the Musick by the Cymbal, which was of another kind.

The Overseer of the Lots. This Person, every Morning, design'd by Lots what Service the Priests were to perform at the Altar.

The Overseer about Birds. His Care was to provide Turtles and Pidgeons, that those who had occasion for them might purchase them for their Money; and he gave an Account of the Money to the Treasurers.

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The Overseer of the Seals. These Seals were such kind of Things as the Tickets that some Clergymen at this time usually give to Persons admitted to the Sacrament. There were four sorts of these Tickets, and they had four several Words written or stamped upon them; upon one was a Calf, on another a Male, on a third a Kid, and on the fourth a Sinner. The use of these Tickets was this: When any one brought a Sacrifice, to which was to be joined a Drink-Offering, he applied to this Overseer of the Tickets: He look'd what his Sacrifice was, and when he was satisfied, consider'd what Drink-Offering was assigned by the Law to such a Sacrifice. Then he gave him a Ticket, whose Inscription was suitable to his Sacrifice: As, suppose it was a Ram, he gave him a Ticket with a Male; was it a Sin-Offering, then he had the Ticket a Sinner; and so of the others. For this Ticket the Overseer received from the Man as much Money as his Drink-Offering would cost; and with this Ticket the Man went to Chap. 5.

The Overseer of the Drink-Offerings: Whose Office was to provide them ready, and deliver them out to every Man according to his Ticket; for by that he knew what Nature his Sacrifice was of, and what Drink-Offering it required; and accordingly he deliver'd it out. Every Night this Overseer of the Drink-Offerings, and the Overseer of the Seals, reckoned together, and computed what the one had received, and the other had given out.

The Overseer of the Sick. His Business was to attend upon the Priests that were sick, to administer Medicines, and was Physician to the Temple; for the Priests serving at the Altar barefooted and thin clothed, and eating abundance of Flesh, which was not so agreeable in that Climate, were very subject to Colds and Cholicks, and other Distempers; and this Officer was appointed to take care of them.

The Overseer of the Waters: Whose Office it was

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to provide that Wells, Ciſterns, and Conduits ſhould be digged and made, that there ſhould be no want of Water at the Temple, eſpecially at the three great Feſtivals, when the whole People of *Iſrael* were to appear there.

The Overſeer of the making of the Shew-bread.

The Overſeer of the making of the Incenſe.

The Overſeer of the Work-men that made the Veils.

The Overſeer who provided Veſtments for the Prieſts.

CHAP. VI.

The Election and Induction of common Prieſts, *the Blemiſhes and* Defects *that made them incapable of officiating in the Prieſthood; their* Qualifications *for miniſtring in ſacred Offices.*

THE Succeſſion of the *Hebrew* Prieſthood was eſtabliſh'd in the Family of *Aaron*, the Pontifical Dignity was fixed in the Line of his Firſt-born; all others of his Poſterity were Prieſts ſimply ſo called, or Prieſts of the *ſecond Order*. The fixed and conſiſtent time for the Prieſts entring into the Service, was at the Age of thirty; but at five and twenty they were Probationers, and might do ſome Offices, but not all. Their Inſtallment and Admiſſion into the Service was in this manner: The great *Sanhedrim* ſate daily in the Room *Gazith*, to judge concerning the Prieſts that came to Age and were to be admitted; and if they proved duly qualified, they clothed them in White, and enrolled them among the Order, and they went in and miniſter'd; and the great Council rejoic'd to find them perfect, and bleſſed God for it with a ſolemn Prayer. But if the Perſon proved to be of the right Line, and had any

of

of the Blemiſhes which made him incapable of the Miniſtry, he was ſent into the Wood-room to worm the Wood for the Altar, and had his Portion in the holy Things with the Men of the Houſe of his Father, and did eat with them. Chap. 6.

There are ſeveral Defects and Blemiſhes taken notice of by the *Jews*, which render'd a Perſon incapable of officiating in the Prieſthood, and made his Miniſtrations uſeleſs and invalid. The firſt in the number (as the learned Dr. *Outram* gives the Account) was the Sin of Idolatry: If a Prieſt fell into this Impiety, by worſhipping ſtrange Gods, or burnt Incenſe to the true God in the High Places, which was contrary to the Law, he was degraded from his Sacerdotal Character by the King or the civil Magiſtrate, and not permitted to offer Sacrifices at God's Altar; becauſe he had defiled himſelf with ſinful Worſhip; yet he was not deprived of his Subſiſtence, but permitted to eat of the Bread of the Prieſts, and had his ſhare of all other Sacrifices that were the Portion allotted to the Prieſts. In Biath Hamikdaſch. 2 Kings 23. 9.

It was preſcribed by the Divine Law, that *Aaron* and his Sons alone ſhould officiate as Prieſts, in offering Sacrifice, in ſetting the Bread upon the Holy Table, looking after the Lights, and burning Incenſe; which Offices they were obliged to execute in their own Perſons, having no Power to depute others to miniſter in their Places: And therefore if any one (though a *Levite*) that was not of the *Aaronical* Line, preſumed to take upon himſelf the Office of a Prieſt, he was to be puniſh'd with Death. For this reaſon the Council ſtrictly examined the Families of the Candidates, and inquired whether they were deſcended from the right Line: If they found them not truly and completely born Prieſts, they were cloathed and veiled in Black, and diſmiſs'd with the greateſt Ignominy and Contempt. And to preſerve the Dignity of the Sacerdotal Race, they took care (ſays *Joſephus*) that the Families of the Prieſts ſhould be preſerv'd pure and unblended. Nothing was ſecured Cont. Appion. lib. 1.

Book II. cured with greater Caution, than that the Wives they took ſhould by no means ſtain or defile the Prieſthood; and from thence came that uſual Phraſe for an excellent Woman; *ſhe deſerves to marry with a Prieſt.* It was not againſt the Law for a Prieſt to marry with a *Leviteſs*, or indeed with an *Iſraelite*; but it was always moſt commendable for him to take a Wife of the Daughters of *Aaron.*

All inceſtuous Marriages were equally unlawful to Prieſts as to other Men; but beſides there were three ſorts of Perſons whom it was forbidden for a common Prieſt to marry, though there was no Relation between them. He was obliged not to marry a Whore, whereby the *Hebrew* Doctors underſtand, not only one that was a common Proſtitute, but one that was not an *Iſraelite*, or an *Iſraelitiſh* Woman that had been deflowred. Under this Notion they included every Woman of ſuſpected Chaſtity, every Female Servant, a Captive, and a Woman that kept a Tavern, or a publick Houſe of Entertainment: Nor was he to marry a profane Woman, who was either deſcended from ſuch a Perſon as is before mentioned, or was born of ſuch a Conjunction as is here forbidden to a Prieſt. There are learned Men, who ſuppoſe that this Prohibition may be underſtood of a Woman that had been conſecrated to a falſe Deity, whom ſhe ſerved with the uſe of her Body, which ſhe expoſed to thoſe who came to worſhip; who tho' ſhe afterwards repented and became virtuous, yet a Prieſt was no more to marry her, than if ſhe had continued a common Whore. But of this Conſtruction the judicious Reader is to judge. Nor was he to take a Woman that had been divorced; becauſe ſhe was of ſuſpected Fame: And for the ſame reaſon he was not to marry a Woman, whom her Husband's Brother had refuſed to marry after his Death: If he did, he was not permitted to miniſter, till he had given ſuch a Wife a Bill of Divorce. He was obliged not to marry a Foreigner. An Example of this

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 10.

this was *Manasseh*, the Brother of *Jaddua* the High-Priest; who marrying, contrary to the Law, the Daughter of *Sanballat* the *Samaritan*, was commanded either to put her away, or not presume to come to the Altar: And therefore to keep the Priesthood pure, and to avoid all Suspicion of Pollution, the Names of the Priests Parents were carefully preserv'd in the Genealogical Tables. Chap. 6.

This Observation properly introduces a Story out of *Suidas*, which, tho' of no great Credit, I am afraid, may yet deserve to be mentioned in this Place. One *Theodosius*, a *Jew*, in the Reign of *Justinian* the *Roman* Emperor, related to one *Philip* a Christian, (who persuaded him to become a Christian also) as a great Secret among the *Jewish* Nation, and known but to very few, that at the time when the Temple stood, and while *Jesus Christ* lived as a private Person, a certain Priest died at *Jerusalem*, and the great Council met together to choose another in his Place; and one naming one, and another another, a certain Priest stood up, and named *Jesus* the Son of *Joseph* the Carpenter, as one of an unexceptionable Character, whom they knew to be a Man of singular Wisdom and Integrity: But when it was objected, that *Joseph* was not of the Tribe of *Levi*, but of *Judah*, and therefore his Son *Jesus* was incapable of the Priesthood, it was answer'd, that he was derived from a Stock that was so blended with the Tribe of *Levi*, that he might be admitted; and upon this he was generally approved of, as a Person proper to succeed in the Place of the Priest deceased. Now because it was the Custom to enroll the Names of those that were received into the Priesthood, and the Names of their Parents, they called the Mother of *Jesus* to give them an Account of his Descent, (for *Joseph* was now dead) and when she had told them, he had no earthly Father, but was conceived by the Holy-Ghost, and that she bare him, as many could witness who were present at her Travail, but that she still remained a Virgin; and when they had

Suidas in voce Ιησ.

Book II. had taken the Evidence of some who attended upon her at her Delivery, and received Testimony from other Women, whom they appointed to examine her, that she was still a Virgin, they enter'd the Name and Parentage of *Jesus* into their Register in these Words: Such a Day such a Priest died, the Son of such a Man and such a Woman, and by the common Suffrage there was elected in his Place *Jesus*, the Son of the living God, and of the Virgin *Mary*. And this Register-Book, says this Relater, after *Jerusalem* was destroyed, was preserv'd by the Care and Industry of some of the principal *Jews*, and is now privately laid up at *Tiberias*: And this Story (says *Suidas*,) I had from some that heard it from *Philip*, to whom it was related.

No Person was allowed to minister at the Altar, who would bring any Disparagement by the least Blemish in his Body upon the divine Service: The Blind or Lame were prohibited; and though a Man was not so lame as to halt, yet if his Foot was so broken as to look deformed, he was incapable to officiate; because it render'd him contemptible in the Eyes of the People, at least not so graceful as the Service of the most *High* required. A flat Nose made a Man unfit for the holy Ministrations, that is, the upper Part of whose Nose was so depress'd, that the two Eyebrows seem'd to meet, and to be but one. If one Member was disproportionate to the rest, that is, when one of a Man's Eyes, or Ears, or Legs, were bigger than the other; or if a Man had a Fracture in his Hand, he was not admitted to act in holy Offices. He was disqualified if he was Bunch-back'd, whether the Bunch proceeded from a Luxation of the Back-bone, or from a Swelling in the Flesh; as he was likewise if he was a Dwarf, who, besides that he was despicable, was not able to reach up to the Altar: If he had a confused Spot in his Eye, he was rejected; but this Spot, as *Selden* observes, did not make a Priest incapable to minister, unless it was somewhat prominent, which made the Blemish more visible;

ble: Or if he was scurvy or scabbed, or had his Stones broken, (that is, as some understand it, was bursten, or had a Rupture) he was forbidden to officiate. In short, if a Man had any manner of Blemish, besides these particularly mentioned, he was incapable to serve at the Altar; and there being some of them permanent or perpetual, (as they speak) and others that were transient, which remained but for a time, no Man that had a Blemish, though only of the latter sort, was to be concerned in the holy Offices till it was gone. Chap. 6.

If any of them with a Blemish upon them did presume to minister, there were different Effects of their Presumption and Contumacy, according to the different kinds of Blemishes which they had. And these the *Hebrew* Doctors divide into three Classes: The first consisted of such Blemishes as made Beasts unfit to be offer'd, as well as Priests unfit to minister; the second, of such as only made Priests incapable to officiate; the third, were such as only made Men look ill favouredly. If any Man having a Blemish of the first sort presumed to minister, it profaned the very Sacrifice which he offer'd, and he was to be scourg'd: The second sort did not vitiate the Sacrifice; but the Priest was to suffer the forenamed Punishment: The third sort was so inconsiderable, that neither of these Effects followed upon his ministring, that was blemished by them. But though an unqualified Priest might not presume to offer a Sacrifice; yet he was allowed to eat with his Brethren of the Sacrifices allotted them, which no Man in his Uncleanness was permitted to do; and therefore these natural Infirmities were not legal Impurities, but only Incapacities (as we speak) which disabled them for their Office. An unqualified Priest was not only forbibden to offer Sacrifice, but he was not to go up to the Altar of Burnt-offering, which was in the Court of the Lord's House; nor into the Sanctuary, where the Altar of Incense was; but (as was before observ'd) he was to sit in the Wood-room to pick out

Book II. out the Worm-eaten Wood, that it might be laid aside, and not burnt upon the Altar. God commanded his Ministers, says a learned Rabbi, to wear precious Vestments, and that none should be admitted into the Ministry who had any Defect in his Body: Nay, they who were deformed and ill favoured were excluded; because the Vulgar do not judge according to Men's true Worth and Beauty (which lies in the Soul) but according to their outward Appearance, in the Comelineſs of their Bodies, and the Richneſs of their Garments; and therefore the End of these Precepts was, that the House of God might be had in due Reverence and Honour.

Maimon. More Nevoch. p. 3. cap. 45.

A Person uncircumcised was not to approach the Altar to offer Sacrifice; for he was accounted a Stranger, and unworthy of the Ministry. No Stranger (says the Prophet) uncircumcised in Heart, nor uncircumcised in Flesh, shall enter into my Sanctuary, of any Stranger that is among the Children of *Israel*.

Ezek. 44. 9.

Whoever was defiled with any legal Pollution was expelled the Altar; the Unclean was not permitted to eat of holy Things, much less to officiate in them.

The Priest, that ministers at the Altar in his Uncleanness, is not to be brought before the *Sanhedrim*; but they bring him out into the Court, and there brain him with pieces of Wood, provided to supply the Fire upon the Altar.

Sanhed. fol. 81. 2.

If a Priest executed his Ministry the same Day that he had wash'd himself for a Pollution, his Ministration was illegal; because he was not to be esteem'd clean, till the Evening, or the setting of the Sun.

A Priest that wanted an Expiation, that is, who, though he had continued the stated Time in his Uncleanness, yet if he had not perform'd those Sacrifices that were prescribed for his cleansing, had no right to act in divine Service.

He was excluded the Ministry, who was in his Mourning. The Priests were forbidden to touch

touch a dead Body, or (as the *Hebrews* say) to come within four Cubits of it, or to enter into the House where it lay, though it were to take care of the Funeral, or to follow the Corps to the Grave, or to make any Mourning for the Dead; because this render'd him legally polluted, and consequently unfit for divine Service. But in some Exigencies, *Maimonides* says, a Priest might serve, though he were defiled by the Dead: His Words are; at every Offering, either of the Congregation, or of a particular Person, the time for the Offering of which is fixed, they dispense with the Sabbath, and with defiling by the Dead only. The Sacrifice must be offer'd in this Uncleanness; and the Clean and the Unclean may be employ'd about it alike, and they may all go into the Court; but those that are unclean with any other Uncleanness, may not be employed about the Service, nor may they go into the Court. A Priest was allow'd to mourn for his Father, his Mother, his Son, his Daughter, his Brother, and his Sister that was a Virgin: And the *Jews* are so critical as to say, that if a Man died in a strange Country, where there was no Body to take care of his Funeral, and see him buried, a Priest might do it himself, rather than his Body should lie above Ground; yet, within the Bounds of *Palestine*, he was forbidden to defile himself for the greatest Man in the Nation, except his near Relations above-mentioned. But for these, he was not to follow the superstitious Customs of the *Gentiles*, who, in their Mourning for the Dead, used to shave their Heads, and that round about, and throw the Hair into the Sepulchre with the Bodies of their Relations and Friends, and sometimes lay it upon the Face, or the Breast of the Deceased, as an Oblation to the Infernal Gods, whereby they proposed to appease those Deities, and render them kind and propitious to the Dead. A Priest was forbidden likewise to shave the Corners of his Beard. Now there were five Corners (as they phrase it) of

Chap. 6.

In Biath. Migdash. Per 4.

Book II. their Beards, one on either Cheek, and one on either Lip, and one below on the Chin; none of which he was to ſhave, much leſs all, after the manner of the idolatrous Prieſts, who were uſed to ſhave their Beards, and ſmite their Cheeks, at the Funeral of their Friends. Nor was he to cut his Fleſh with his Nails, or with a Knife, or other ſharp Inſtruments, in Imitation of the *Heathen*, who by theſe Rites thought to pacify the Anger of the enraged Deities.

Nor was he to rend his Clothes, which was a Ceremony of Mourning in the *Eaſtern* Countries. This was thought ſo unſeemly in a Prieſt when he miniſter'd, that the *Jews* ſay, that they, whoſe Garments were rent by Accident, were as incapable of officiating, as they who rent them by Deſign. Beſides, it was thought indecent for any, that attended upon the divine Majeſty, to come into his Houſe in a torn Habit.

Nor was he to let his Hair grow ſo long as to cover his Face, which was the Cuſtom of Mourners; that is, he was not to nouriſh his Hair for thirty Days. But this Law obliged the common Prieſts only in the time of their Miniſtration; but the High Prieſt (whoſe Preſence was always neceſſary in the Sanctuary) was not to let his Hair grow, but was bound every Week to have it cut, even upon the Eve of the Sabbath.

The Prieſts were forbidden to drink Wine, or any Liquors in Imitation of Wine, as Mede or Metheglin, in the time of their Miniſtration; becauſe it was neceſſary they ſhould be perfectly ſober, in order to make an accurate Difference, and to paſs a right Judgment in every Act of their Office. At other times they were permitted to drink Wine; and, if we may believe the *Jews*, they did not offend againſt this Precept, if they drank no more than the fourth Part of a Log, which contained an Eggſhell and a half: If they exceeded this Meaſure, their Miniſtry, they ſay, was profaned, and they were liable to Death by the Hand of Heaven. But if a Prieſt was intoxicated

ted with any other ſtrong Liquor, beſides Wine, in the time of his Service, *Maimonides* ſays, his Miniſtration was not accounted invalid, nor was he obnoxious to Death; but he was to be ſcourged. It is ſuppoſed, that this Injunction was founded upon the Miſcarriage of *Nadab* and *Abihu*, who perhaps had drunk too much Wine; which occaſion'd them to fall into that foul Rebellion, and render'd them unable to diſtinguiſh between the Fire that was holy, and that which was not. Chap. 6.

The *Jeruſalem Talmud* obſerves, that the Prieſts of the Courſe, that were in their Attendance, were permitted to drink Wine in the Night, but not in the Day; becauſe it might be, that the Service of their Brethren might be too heavy for the Houſe of the Father that was to ſerve, and they might be obliged to come in and help, which they could not do, if they had drunk Wine: But the Men of the Houſe of the Father, that were to ſerve, might not drink Wine either by Day or Night. Whoever knew his Courſe, and the Houſe of his Father, was forbidden to drink Wine only for that Day that his Father's Houſe ſerved: He that knew his Courſe, but not his Father's Houſe (which poſſibly in proceſs of time might be forgotten) was prohibited Wine during the whole Week of his Miniſtration.

No Prieſt was to officiate in divine Service, if he was not clothed in his proper Veſtments: If he preſumed to miniſter without his ſacred Habit, he was to ſuffer Death. A Prieſt, ſays a learned *Rabbi*, by being clothed in his proper Veſtment, was inveſted with the Prieſthood; but being ſtript of them, he was ſtript of his Sacerdotal Office, and eſteem'd a Stranger; and if a Stranger attempted to officiate, he was puniſh'd with Death.

Nor was he to wear any more Garments than were preſcrib'd: The number of them being fixed by God, he was obliged to pay Obedience, and not to exceed.

Before a Prieſt enter'd upon the Service of the Day, he was obliged to waſh his Hands and his Feet: If he preſumed to miniſter in his Uncleanneſs, ſuch a Profanation was puniſhed by Death by the Hand of Heaven, and the Office performed by ſuch a Perſon was without effect. This waſhing was not to be repeated before every Act of Miniſtration; it was ſufficient for the Service of that Day, if the Ceremony was once uſed before it began.

The Poſture of ſitting was not to be uſed by thoſe who miniſter'd in holy Things, being inconſiſtent with the Reverence due to the Immortal God. It was a Maxim among the *Jews*, that there was no Miniſtry perform'd but by a Perſon ſtanding; whoever officiated ſitting, was profane, and his Service in vain. Not only the Prieſts, but all who worſhipp'd in the Sanctuary, were obliged to this Poſture, according to an Obſervation among them, *No one prays rightly, except he ſtands.*

The Miniſtration of a Prieſt was invalid, if he had any thing between his naked Feet and the Pavement: Whoever wore Shoes, was not permitted to come into the Sanctuary, much leſs to miniſter there.

There is no Foundation in the *Moſaick* Law for this Practice, nor for what follows.

If a Prieſt had any thing between his bare Hands, and a ſacred Veſſel which he touch'd, he ſerv'd to no purpoſe; for he was bound to miniſter with his Hands waſh'd, which would have been to no effect, if he had not uſed them bare in holy Offices.

It derived a Blemiſh upon the Service, if the Prieſt made uſe of his left Hand for his right; for the right Hand of *Aaron*, and of his Sons, were conſecrated by the ſacrifical Blood, when they were admitted to the Prieſthood.

Theſe Rules and Precepts were fixed, as Guards and Defences to ſecure the Dignity of the Prieſt-

Priesthood, and the Reverence due to the divine Service they performed. Chap. 6.

No more shall be observed upon this Head, but that there was a Difference made between a learned Priest and an unlearned; for there were some among them who studied and improved themselves in the Universities, where they were supported by Tithes, and others who wanted School Education, and were not esteemed among the learned, nor among such as were devoted to Religion; for since the whole Seed of *Aaron* was Sacerdotal, and Priests were not so much made as born, it is not to be wonder'd that some ignorant Persons were found among them. It was a Caution therefore, that an Oblation was not to be given to an unlearned Priest; and the Reason alledg'd is, because whoever gives an Oblation to a plebeian, or an unlearned Priest, does all one as he gave it to a Lion, of whom it may be question'd, whether he will tread it under his Feet, and eat it or not. So it may be doubted of a plebeian Priest, whether he will eat in Cleanness, or in Uncleanness: Yet the Ministration of such was admitted, and, how illiterate soever, their Courses at the Altar were fixed according to Lot, and they had Instructions given them in what manner they should execute their Office as they ought to do.

CHAP. VII.

The four and twenty Courſes of Prieſts; their manner of drawing Lots *after the* Babyloniſh *Captivity; the Service and Diviſion of every* Courſe; *the Miniſtry of every Prieſt decided by Lot; their Sacred Offices, particularly their Form of* Bleſſing *the People; the Sacerdotal* Garments.

IN order that the Service of the Temple might be carried on with the greater Regularity, the Prieſts were divided into ſeveral Courſes. Theſe Courſes, many of the *Hebrew* Doctors aſſert, were firſt ordained by *Moſes*, and he eſtabliſh'd eight of them in number, four of the Line of *Eleazar*, and four of the Line of *Ithamar*; then *Samuel* added eight more, and made them ſixteen; and *David* added other eight, and made them four and twenty. Others are of opinion, that *Moſes* ordained ſixteen, and that *David* and *Samuel* conſulted, and added eight more. But however this may be, it is certain, that the firſt time the Scripture ſpeaks of any Courſes, it makes mention of four and twenty, and that *David* was the Founder and Diſtributer of them, and their Order was appointed by a divine Lot. Theſe Courſes ſerved under the firſt Temple, and continued in their Miniſtry till the *Babylonian* Captivity; but it is generally allowed, that no more than four of them returned, namely, *Jedajah*, *Harim*, *Paſhur*, *Immer*. The *Babylonian Talmud*, inſtead of *Harim*, names *Jojarib*. After the Return, there was ſome difficulty to make four and twenty Courſes out of theſe four Families; and Tradition ſays, that they us'd this Method: They made four and twenty Lots, and they wrote the Names of the

Ezra 3. 36, 37, 38, 39.

Heads

Heads of the four and twenty Courſes upon them, and put them into a Lottery Box. *Jedajah* took out five, which with himſelf made ſix; and ſo did *Harim*, *Paſhur*, and *Immer*, which made four and twenty in the whole; and the Prophets that were among them conditioned, that though *Jojarib* came out of Captivity, yet he ſhould not drive out the Courſe that was before him. Now the Meaning of this Tradition is this: By drawing theſe Lots with the Names of the Heads of the old Courſes upon them, they only intended to find out what Courſes of the old Names muſt be made out of every one of theſe four Families; and they did not intend to alter the Order of the Courſes, but to let them run as they did in the ancient Round; only the Courſe of *Jojarib*, which of old was the firſt, is now order'd to give place to *Jedajah*: And the Reaſon is, becauſe *Jedajah* was of the Family of the High Prieſt, of the Houſe of *Joſhua*, the Son of *Jozedek*; and therefore to him they gave the Preheminence. The Courſes being thus divided after the Captivity, but order'd and rank'd as of old, they increas'd in proceſs of time and became numerous; inſomuch that every Courſe had a Station at *Jeruſalem*, conſiſting of two thouſand four hundred Prieſts, and half a Station reſided at *Jericho*; not but that *Jericho* alſo was able to have produced a whole Station; but becauſe it would give the Honour to *Jeruſalem*, it afforded but half. And when any Courſe was to go up to *Jeruſalem*, half the Courſe went up to *Jeruſalem* out of the Land of *Iſrael*, and half the Courſe went up out of *Jericho*, which the *Babylonian Gemara* expreſſes thus: There were four and twenty Courſes in the Land of *Iſrael*, and twelve at *Jericho*; not that there are ſix and thirty Courſes to be ſuppoſed, but that the four and twenty were thus divided, that half or more of every Courſe conſtantly reſided at *Jeruſalem*, and about it, that they might be always ready to enter upon the Service, when the time of their Courſe came; and the other part or half of every Courſe was

Chap. 7.

Book II. disperſed up and down through the whole Country; only at and about *Jericho* there was conſtantly a great Number of every Courſe reſiding, as the others did at *Jeruſalem*, who, when the Week of their Courſe came, went up either to help their Brethren of the Courſe in their Service, or to aſſiſt to buy Proviſion for them while they ſerved. As for the reſt of that Courſe, that were neither at *Jeruſalem*, nor at *Jericho*, but diſperſed up and down the Country, they and the *Levites*, and the *Stationary Men* that belong'd to that Courſe, aſſembled in their Synagogues as they had Convenience, and faſted, and prayed, and read the Law, and ſupplicated that the Service of their Brethren, now miniſtring at *Jeruſalem*, might be accepted in the Sight of God.

As the Courſes were every one of them thus divided, in regard to Place and Attendance, ſo was every one of them alſo diſtinguiſh'd into degrees. There was firſt the Head of the Courſe, who was *Preſident* over them all, and repreſented that eminent Perſon from whom the Courſe received its Name. Moſt of theſe *Preſidents*, no doubt, were Members of the great *Sanhedrim*; and though in the Affairs of the Temple, the *Sagan*, *Katholikin*, *Immarcalin*, and *Gizbarin*, were ſuperior to them, yet in this great Council they were all equal; and theſe are thoſe ſo frequently mentioned in the Goſpel by the name of Chief-Prieſts. There were likewiſe the Heads of the *Houſes of their Fathers*. The *Preſident* of the Courſe divided the Courſe ſo regularly among the *Houſes of the Fathers*, that every Houſe or Family might ſerve its Day; and thoſe that were in theſe ſeveral Families, under the Head of the Houſe of their Father, were called private or ordinary Prieſts. Every one of theſe Courſes miniſter'd their Week, from Sabbath to Sabbath. That Courſe which went out, did not depart till the Sabbath was over; and that which came in, entered when it began: They ſerved only a Week at a time, and ſo their Attendance was required twice in the Year. The

Miniſtry

Chap. 7.

Miniſtry of every Courſe was divided in this manner: The Courſe that contained five Houſes of Fathers in it, three ſerved three Days, and two ſerved four; that which had ſix Houſes of Fathers in it, five ſerved five Days, and one ſerved two; that which had ſeven Houſes of Fathers in it, they ſerved every one their Day; that which had eight Houſes of Fathers in it, ſix ſerved ſix Days, and two one Day; that Courſe which had nine Houſes of Fathers in it, five ſerved four Days, and four ſerved two.

This was the Order in which the Service of the Temple was regularly fixed; yet this did not hinder, but that a private Prieſt might devote himſelf to the perpetual Service of God in the Sanctuary; which obliged him to attend conſtantly upon the Service, though it was out of his Courſe; and the Prieſts who were in waiting, were bound to allow him the ſame Portion of the Sacrifices which they had themſelves. He was permitted likewiſe to ſell his Eſtate in the Country (if he had one) and keep the Money to himſelf, without dividing it with other Prieſts that miniſter'd with him; for though the Prieſts had no ſhare in the Land of *Canaan* given them at the Diviſion of it, yet they might purchaſe Houſes, and Goods, and Cattle; and ſometimes they bought Fields, as *Abiathar* had an Eſtate of his own at *Anathoth*; and the Prophet *Jeremiah*, who was a Prieſt alſo, purchaſed a Field of his Uncle's Son in his own Town. Deut. 18. 6. 1 Kings 2. 26. Jer. 32. 7, 8.

As the Courſes of the Prieſts were decided by Lot, ſo every particular Prieſt had his Office appointed him by the ſame Method: The Lot determined who ſhould attend the Altar of Incenſe, who ſhould feed the Fire, who carry out the Aſhes, and all other Parts of the Service. The Place where this was done, was, under the ſecond Temple, in the Building called *Gazith*, in that part of it that ſtood within the Court. Hither the Prieſts came; they all ſtood round, and concluded to count a certain Number, as threeſcore, fourſcore, a hundred,

dred, or what they agreed upon. Then the *Preſident* of the Lottery took off one of their Caps, and put it on again; and *here*, ſaid he, *will I begin to Count; now put up your Fingers.* Then they put up their Fingers, one, or two, or three, as they pleaſed; and he began at him whoſe Cap he had taken off, and told the Fingers that were held up round: He, at whoſe Fingers the Tale or Sum agreed upon was up, was the Perſon upon whom the Lot fell; to him the particular Service belong'd for which the Lot was caſt; and it was a ſtanding Canon, that if one Prieſt intruded into the Place of another, he was to die the Death. The firſt Lot that was caſt, was to determine who ſhould cleanſe the Altar of Burnt-Offering from its Aſhes. They had uſed to run and ſcramble for this Service, and the firſt that came to the Altar did it: But beſides the Irreverence and Indecency which this Cuſtom carried with it, there once happen'd an Accident which made them alter this Practice; for one of the Prieſts ruſhing and ſhuffling for this Employment, was thruſt down by his Fellow from the Riſe of the Altar, and broke his Leg. This Misfortune occaſioned the *Sanhedrim* to ordain, that the Buſineſs ſhould be done with more Calmneſs and Decency; and therefore they decreed, that the Lot ſhould appoint whoſe Office it ſhould be, and the Deciſion was final, and not to be reverſed.

The ſacred Offices to be perform'd by the Prieſts, in their ſeveral Miniſtrations, will more fully appear, when we come to treat of the Religion and Sacrifices of the *Hebrews*. In this Place it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that it was the proper Office of the Prieſts to *bleſs the People*. The Benediction was to be pronounced by the Prieſt, ſtanding ſo that he might be ſeen, with his Hands lifted up, and ſpread, and ſpeaking with a loud Voice, with his Face towards the Aſſembly. This was the Form of the Bleſſing, as it was eſtabliſh'd by God himſelf: *The Lord bleſs thee and keep thee: The Lord make his Face ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his Countenance upon*

Numb. 6. 24, 25, 26.

upon thee, and give thee Peace. When this Benediction was said in the Sanctuary (if we may believe the *Jews*) it was but one, and pronounced without any Pause, the People keeping profound Silence; but out of the Sanctuary (in their Synagogues) they made three of it, the Priest pausing at the End of every Verse, and the People saying *Amen* to each of them. In the Sanctuary also they pronounced the Name *Jehovah*, which is here thrice repeated; but in their Synagogues they used some other Name instead of it. They think it utterly unlawful to add a fourth Benediction to these three, though they find one in this Form: *The Lord God of your Fathers make you a thousand times so many more as you are, and bless you as he hath promised you.* Deut. 1. 2. The divine Blessing was always supposed to depend upon the Blessing of the Priest; which they thought so necessary, that such Priests as were admitted to no other Service might perform this, lest the People should at any time want it: And it was a Maxim, that the Blessing pronounced by a Priest who had some Blemish in his Body, was always to be accounted lawful. There is nothing perform'd among the *Jews* with such Solemnity, and in which they place so much Sanctity, as in this solemn *Benediction:* And at this Day, they that are of the Family of *Aaron*, go up to the Steps which lead to the Place where the Book of the Law is kept, and, lifting up their Hands as high as their Heads, pronounce the Blessing in their Synagogues upon the Assembly; and they still observe the old Custom, which, they say, was not only to lift up and spread their Hands, but then to join them together by the Thumbs and the two Fore-fingers, dividing the others from them. When the Blessing is deliver'd, all the People cover their Faces, believing they would be struck blind if they should look up; because the divine Majesty, at that time, sits upon the Hands of the Priest; which shows not only how laborious they have been to maintain an Opinion in the

People's

Book II. People's Minds, that God is ſtill as much preſent with them in their Synagogues, as he was anciently in their Tabernacle and Temple, but alſo how high a Value they ſet upon the divine Bleſſing pronounced regularly by his Miniſters.

It was likewiſe the Employment of the Prieſts to keep watch within the Temple, as the *Levites* did without. Theirs was the Buſineſs of ſacrificing, with all its Rites, in all Offerings upon the Altar of Burnt-Offering, and the whole Service of the holy Place. The Government of the Sanctuary, and of the Houſe of God, lay upon them. They ſet the new prepared Shew-Bread upon the golden Tables within the Sanctuary every *Sabbath*, and removed the old. They order'd the Lamps of the golden Candleſticks every Morning. They kindled the daily Incenſe, to make a ſweet Perfume in the Temple at the time of the dreſſing of the Lamps, that the Stench of that Work might not be offenſive. They were the unappealable Judges of Leproſy, and Jealouſy between Man and Wife. They blew the Trumpets to the ſolemn Feaſts; and alſo before the Ark at its ſolemn Removals. Their Office was to go along with the Captains of the Battle in War, with their ſilver Trumpets before the Battle, as appears evidently from many Places of Scripture. They were to look to the burning of Wood continually upon the Brazen-Altar, that the Fire once fallen from Heaven might never be extinguiſh'd. Their Buſineſs was to make the Holy Ointment with the appointed Spices, to preſide in the publick Schools and Univerſities, and to inſtruct the People in the divine Law.

It will be unneceſſary to be very particular in ſpeaking of the *holy Garments* that were worn by the ordinary Prieſts in the time of their Miniſtration, ſince the Veſtments of the High-Prieſt have been deſcrib'd in another Place; who, beſides others peculiar to himſelf, was clothed with the ſame Garments as were common to Prieſts of a lower Order. However, it may be uſeful to obſerve,

observe, that the Sacerdotal Habit, worn in the time of divine Service, was peculiar for that Place and Occasion, and differ'd from the Apparel they ordinarily made use of. Some *Jews* are of opinion, that there were such Priestly Garments before the Delivery of the Law; and they speak of such bequeathed from Father to Son in the holy Line, even from *Adam* to *Isaac:* And they think that the Vesture, in which *Jacob* obtained the Blessing, was of this nature. But these are Subtilties too nice to inquire after. The Priests, when they came up in their Courses to minister, put off their ordinary wearing Clothes, washed themselves in Water, and put on the holy Garments. Whilst they were at the Temple, and attending there upon the Service, they were not to sleep in the sacred Habit, but in their own wearing Clothes; and in the Morning, when they went to their Service, they put off their own Clothes, bathed themselves in Water, and then clothed themselves with the Garments of the Priesthood. These Vestments were made of white Linen, and were four. Upon their Thighs and Loins they wore *linen Breeches*, to prevent the Discovery of their Nakedness, either when they stood upright upon the Altar, or stooped down to any part of the Service there, or in any other Place. Upon their Bodies they wore a *linen Coat*, or Surplice, that was wrought like Diaper, or some such kind of Work, which made it look neat and uncommon. This Coat was girt to them with a long *Scarf*, which went many times about, and not only contributed to keep them warm, but to strengthen their Backs in the time of their Service. Upon their Heads they wore a *Bonnet*, which was likewise a Scarf made of Linen, and went many times about. The *Jews* say, that the Priests might wear all these Vestments so long as they stay'd in the Temple, though their Service was over, except the *Scarf* that was used about their Waste, which they were to lay aside when their Ministry expired. Chap. 7.

pired. These Garments were kept in a proper Apartment, where every Course of Priests had four distinct Conveniences for their several Vestures. They were provided at the publick Charge, and when they were worn out, they returned to the Publick again; they were ravell'd to make Yarn for Lights, to be used at the Solemnity of the Feast of Tabernacles, and, perhaps, for Candles in the Priests Chambers.

CHAP. VIII.

The Revenue of the Hebrew *Priesthood; the Payment of* First-Fruits; *the Redemption of the* First-born, *and the* Firstlings.

THE Revenue which supported the Priests, was suitable to the Dignity of the sacred Offices in which they were concern'd. They had thirteen noble Cities allotted them in the first Distribution of the *Holy Land*, which were situated near the City of *Jerusalem*, and, for the most part, within the Borders of the royal Tribe of *Judah*: And for their Maintenance, the *Mosaick* Law enjoined, that the First-Fruits, Firstlings, the Tithe, Oblations, and other Advantages, should be regularly paid them; by which means the *Levitical* Priesthood lived honourably, and preserved their Character above Contempt among the People.

The Use and End of offering the *First-Fruits* was, that in them the After-Fruits might be consecrated. To this purpose the *Hebrews* were commanded to offer the First-Fruits of all manner of Trees that contributed to the Support of humane Life; and the Order they observ'd was this: The three first Years after the Tree had been planted, the Fruits were esteemed uncircumcised and unclean; and therefore they pluck'd off the Buds

Buds when they put forth, that they might not grow into Fruit; or if any by chance did, they threw them away as unfit for use. But this Method was observ'd only with regard to such Fruit-trees as they planted after they came to *Canaan*, not to such as they found there already planted; and it was the same thing whether a Man planted the Trees himself, or bought an Orchard, or a Vineyard, or any Plantation, of another *Israelite*, or had it left him as an Inheritance, or bestowed upon him as a Gift; the three first Years the Fruit was unholy, and not to be eaten, or sold, or made Advantage of. In the fourth Year it was to be offer'd as the First-Fruit to God, and eaten by the Priests; yet some say it was to be eaten by the Owners, before the Lord, at *Jerusalem* (when his Dwelling was settled there) as they eat the second Tithe. After the fourth Year the Fruit return'd to the Use of the Owner. And these may be called simply the *First-Fruits*. Chap. 8.

The First-Fruits of every Year's Increase were likewise to be paid yearly. And of these there were many sorts: There were the First-Fruits *in the Sheaf*, as they are called, and the First-Fruits *in two Wave Loaves:* And these two bounded their Harvest. That in the Sheaf was offer'd in the Beginning of Barley-Harvest. When the Passover began, a Sheaf of Barley was brought unto the Priest, who offer'd part of it to God, and the rest he had for his own Use. The manner of offering and gathering this Oblation is thus describ'd by the *Jews:* Upon the Evening of the first Day of the Passover Week, some Persons were commanded by the *Sanhedrim* to take Sickles and Baskets, and go out, when it was dark, into the Ashes-Valley of the Brook *Kidron*, and (having a great Company with them) to cut a Sheaf of Corn, which they brought into the Court of the Temple, and parch'd it; and having ground it, they sifted it often (no less than thirteen times) till it was very fine Flour: After which, they took out a Tenth-deal (an Omer, Levit. 23. 10, 17.

which

Book II. which was the tenth part of an Ephah) and brought it to the Prieſt, who took out a Handful, and put it upon the Altar with Oil and Frankincenſe; and what remained he had for himſelf. The Sheaf was to be waved before the Lord, to procure his Bleſſing upon the reſt of the Harveſt; for it was not lawful to reap, nor to eat any of the Fruits of the Earth, till the Firſt-Fruits were offer'd to the Donor of them. This Oblation was attended with a ſpecial Offering of a He Lamb without Blemiſh, beſides the daily Burnt-Sacrifice; and there was added a double Meat-Offering, of fine Flour, in Honour of the Day, which was a kind of Feſtival; and a Drink-Offering follow'd, which conſiſted of no more than the uſual Quantity; becauſe this was a Thankſgiving for their Corn only, and not for their Vintage, which came afterwards.

The Firſt-Fruits *in two Wave-Loaves* were the
See Levit. 23 17. Firſt-Fruits of Wheat Harveſt, and were offer'd upon the *Jewiſh* Pentecoſt. Theſe Oblations ſeem to have been offer'd at a common Charge, in the Name of the whole Nation; for to affirm, as ſome do, that two Loaves were to be brought out of every Houſe, or at leaſt, out of every Town, is abſurd. This Offering was made of fine Flour baked with Leaven; and therefore was not burnt upon the Altar, for that was unlawful, but wholly given to the Prieſts. This Bread of the Firſt-Fruits, with the other Sacrifices that were offer'd upon this Solemnity, was wav'd by the Prieſt, who reached them out upward and downward, this way and that way, towards the ſix Quarters of the World, to ſhew that the Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulneſs thereof; or, as a learned Rabbi obſerves, that they might underſtand the Providence of God is every where, above and beneath, in every Corner of the World.

Before any Bread was made of the Corn of the Land, a Cake was firſt made out of the Dough, conſiſting of a four and twentieth part, which was heaved; and then (as all Heave-Offerings were)

it

it was given to the Priests. They were likewise to pay to the Priests the First-Fruits of the Threshing-floor. This Oblation was distinguish'd by the Rabbis into two sorts: The first of these was the First-Fruits of seven things only, Wheat, Barley, Grapes, Figs, Pomegranates, Olives, and Dates. These the *Talmudists* call by the Name of *Biccurim*, which signifies the *choicest Part*, or what was first ripe. The Owner might bring in what Measure he pleased; but in gathering, he always bound the Portion he design'd for the Priests about with Rushes, and said, *let this be for the First-Fruits:* And these, they say, are the First-Fruits which the People are so often commanded in the Law to bring up to the Sanctuary at the Feast of Pentecost, at which time their Harvest ended. The second was paid of Corn, Wine, and Oil, and whatever else was for the Support of humane Life. This was called *Therumah*, which signifies a Heave-Offering. The *Hebrews* called this second Payment sometimes the Great Heave-Offering, in comparison of that Tithe which the *Levites* paid to the Priests; for that was called the Heave-Offering of the Tithe; which though it were one of ten, in respect of that Portion which the *Levites* receiv'd, yet it was but one of a hundred, in respect of the Husbandman's Stock who paid the *Levites:* And thus it was a great deal less than the Great Heave-Offering, as will presently appear. This, they say, the Owner was not obliged to bring up to *Jerusalem*; but the Priests were to take it at the Barn and the Wine-press. Under this kind of First-Fruits is included the first of the Fleece; and though the Quantity is not mentioned, yet the *Jews* have always determined, that less than one Fleece in sixty was not accepted; for so they say of all other First-Fruits, that a sixtieth Part of the whole was the least that any Man gave, and he was accounted a covetous Man if he gave no more. This Proportion is founded upon the Command of the Prophet *Ezekiel*; which was, that the Oblation should be Ezek. 45. 13.

Chap. 8.

Book II. the fixth Part of an Ephah out of an Homer, that is, the fixtieth Part of the whole; for an Homer contains ten Ephahs. They that were indifferently good gave a fiftieth Part, and liberal Perſons the fortieth. By this means the Prieſts were provided with Clothes, as by other Offerings with Food: And the Wool alſo, as they call it, of Goats (which were ſhorn in thoſe Countries) is included under the Fleece of Sheep.

When the People brought up their Firſt-Fruits to *Jeruſalem*, it was done with great Pomp and Ceremony. The manner is thus expreſs'd in their own Words: After what manner did they bring their Firſt-Fruits? All the Cities that were of one Station (that is, out of which one Courſe of Prieſts proceeded) were gathered together into a Stationary City, and lodged in the Streets: In the Morning, he who was the firſt among them ſaid, *Ariſe, let us go up to* Zion, *to the Houſe of the Lord our God.* An Ox went before them with gilded Horns, and an Olive Crown upon his Head, for a Peace-Offering, (which was to be eaten by the Males among the Prieſts in the Court of the Sanctuary) and the Pipe play'd before them, until they approached near to *Jeruſalem.* When they came to *Jeruſalem*, they crowned their Firſt-Fruits, (that is, they expoſed them to Sight in as much Glory as they could) and the chief Men, and the high Officers, and Treaſurers of the Temple, came to meet them, to do them the more Honour that were coming; and all the Workmen in *Jeruſalem* roſe up to them (as they were in their Shops) and ſaluted them in this manner; *O our Brethren, Inhabitants of the City* N, *ye are welcome.* The Pipe play'd before them till they came to the Mount of the Temple: Every one, even King *Agrippa* himſelf, took his Baſket upon his Shoulder, and went forward till he came to the Court. The *Levites* ſang, *I will exalt thee, O Lord, becauſe thou haſt exalted me, and haſt not made mine Enemies to rejoice over me.* While the Baſket is yet upon his Shoulder, he recites that Paſſage,

Talmud in Bicurim, c. 3.

Pſal. 30. 1.

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I profess this Day to the Lord my God. When he speaks these Words, *A* Syrian *ready to perish was my Father*, he casts down the Basket from his Shoulders, and holds his Lips, while the Priest waves it hither and thither. The whole Passage being recited to the tenth Verse, he places the Basket before the Altar, worships, and goes out. They used to hang Turtles or Pidgeons about their Baskets, which were adorned with Flowers; and those they designed as an Offering. The Fruits themselves belong'd to the Priests of the Course that were then in Service, and the Party who brought them was obliged to lodge in *Jerusalem* all the Night after he had presented them; and the next Morning he was allowed to return home. The First-Fruits were not to be offer'd before the Feast of Pentecost, nor after the Feast of Dedication. Chap. 8. Deut. 16. 3, 5.

The Redemption of the *Firstlings*, or *First born*, raised a great Revenue for the Support of the Priests. The Law was, that all that open'd the Matrix, both of Man and Beast, being Males, were to be set apart from the rest of that kind of Creatures, and separated for Sacrifice. Now because God had no Pleasure in humane Victims, the First-born of Men were to be redeem'd at the Price of five Shekels: The Money was due at a Month's End, but was seldom paid till the fortieth Day, when the Woman was purified. The *Jews* observe, that this was done to the First-born, but had no regard to the Children that were born afterwards: Nor was this done to the First-born, unless the First-born (as they speak) was fit for the Priest; for they distinguish between a First born fit for Inheritance, and a First-born fit for the Priest; that is, if the First-born should be any ways maimed, or defective in any of his Parts, or had any kind of Spot or Blemish in him; this was no Hindrance to his inheriting, but yet it made him incapable of being consecrated to God; and therefore he had no occasion to be redeem'd. The Law of *Moses* allow'd no un-

clean Beaſt to be uſed in Sacrifice; and therefore the *Firſtlings* of ſuch were to be redeem'd with a Lamb, which was to be ſacrificed. If a Man had not a Lamb, he was to give the Price of one; and becauſe all Lambs were not of an equal Value, the Rabbis remark, that a *good Eye*, that is, a liberal Man, gives a Shekel; an evil Eye, half as much; and a middle ſort of Men gave three-quarters. If the Owner thought fit to redeem it, he was to do it within thirty Days; if not, he was to break the Neck of it, or deſtroy it one way or other, that it ſhould never be uſed. The Firſtlings of clean Beaſts were to be ſacrificed, their Blood to be ſprinkled upon the Altar, their Fat to be burnt for a Burnt-Offering, and their Fleſh to return to the Prieſts.

But before a Firſtling was admitted for Sacrifice, it was firſt examin'd by an Officer appointed by the Preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, or (as they ſpeak) by a *Sanhedrim* in the Land of *Iſrael* of Men ordained, whoſe Buſineſs it was to determine whether it was fit to be offer'd or not. He received a Power for this Office from the Head of the Court, who ſaid to him, *Have thou Authority to looſe Firſtlings concerning Blemiſhes*; that is, to determine what Blemiſhes were ſufficient to exclude a Firſtling from being ſacrificed. This Officer was called *Mumcheh*: Without his Inſpection and Order no Firſtling was to be killed; upon his Approbation it was brought to the Temple, through the Gate called the Gate of the *Firſtlings*, and then ſlain on the South Side of the Altar.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

An Account of the Hebrew Tithe; *the first, second, and third Tithe; the Tithing of* Cattle.

THE Priests had no Share allowed them in the Division of the Land, except a Number of Cities, with their Suburbs, that they might attend wholly upon divine Service, and not have their Thoughts diverted by the Business of Tillage, or feeding Cattle, or any other Secular Employment: And indeed, had they had any Portion of Lands bestow'd on them, there had been too great an Inequality between them and the rest of the Tribes of *Israel*; for the First-Fruits alone, if they had not been less than the sixtieth Part of the Product of the Country, might seem a sufficient Maintenance, especially if the First-lings be added, the Priests not being the sixtieth Part, nor the hundredth Part, as learned Men have computed. But besides the plentiful Allowance abovementioned, they had the tenth Part of the *Tithe* given to the *Levites*. Now to describe particularly the Nature of the *Jewish* Tithe, it will be proper to inquire first what things in the general were titheable; secondly, how many kind of Tithes there were; and thirdly, the time when each sort of Tithe was to be paid.

Their yearly Increase, out of which Tithe was to be paid, was either of Cattle, Fruits of the Trees, or Fruits of the Land. Of all these they paid Tithes, even to Mint, Anise, and Cummin. The sorts of Tithes paid out of the Fruits, both of the Trees and the Land, by the Husbandman, were two, and paid in this manner: When the Harvest was ended, and all gather'd, the Owner laid aside the First-Fruits of his Threshing-Floor; then out of the Remainder he paid a

Book II. tenth Part to the *Levites*. This was called the *first Tithe*, and it is supposed was always paid *in Kind*, in the several Cities of Tillage, and not brought up to *Jerusalem*. It may be impossible, perhaps, to give a direct Reason why a tenth Part precisely was assigned to the *Levites*: The Answer among the *Jews* is generally, because it was a perfect Number, *Ten* being, in simple Numbers, the highest to which we can rise, without repeating the Numbers under it; for it is (as they speak) the Beginning of the second Combination, and the End of the first, whereupon all Numbers do depend; which our learned *Mede* has express'd, in my Judgment, far better; who looks upon it as God's favourable Dealing with Men, in requiring but the Tenth; which is in truth the least part of their Goods, according to the first Division; for when we proceed beyond ten, we begin to make a new Division, as eleven is ten and one. But we need not have recourse to such Niceties; it seems more reasonable to think, that the *Hebrews* had a divine Direction for this Number, as they had for sacrificing. And it may be further observ'd, that what they gave to their Kings was the tenth Part, as well as what they paid to God. Nothing was more common among the *Gentiles* than *Tenths* paid to their Kings, and that very anciently; for it appears from 1 Sam. 8. 14, 15. *Samuel*, that it was part of the *Jus Regium* among the People of the East. *Aristotle* himself mentions it as an ancient Law in *Babylon*; and it was also used in *Athens*, which was a Republick; and it was likewise paid among the *Romans*.

Discourse of Sacrilege.

Spencer de Leg. Heb. Rit. l. 3. c. 10.

Our of the *first Tithe* the *Levites* paid a Tithe or tenth Portion to the Priests. This Tithe is thought by some very learned Persons to have been design'd for the High-Priest alone, the better to support the Dignity of his Office, and the Honour of his Family; especially considering that the inferior Priests had a noble Maintenance, without this, from First-Fruits and Offerings of the People. But *Josephus*, and the Generality of

Archæol. lib. 6. cap. 4.

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the *Jewish* Writers, directly oppose this Conjecture; not but that the High-Priest had a principal Portion in this *second Tithe* paid by the *Levites*; but the Priests had their Share likewise. If it should seem strange that the High-Priest had no direct Provision made for him suitable to his Character, let it be consider'd, that the Revenue of the Priests belong'd to him, so far as to afford him an honourable Maintenance; and he had this Privilege also, that he did not minister by Lot, as the other Priests did in their several Courses, but when he pleas'd: And besides, he had the Liberty to take to himself what Sacrifices he thought fit to offer. This Tenth was called *the Tithe of the Tithes*, and *the Tithe of holy Things*; and that the Priests might have their full Due, one of them was appointed to be with the *Levites* when they took their Tithes, to take care of the Concerns of the whole Order of the Priesthood, and see that they were not injur'd in their Right. Chap. 9.

The *Levites* were likewise oblig'd to offer to the Priests a Portion of the Increase of whatever they possess'd of their own, of the Fields, for instance, which were in the Suburbs of their Cities, and that not of the Refuse, but of the choicest Part. When they had paid their Tithe and their Offerings, the Remainder might be eaten by them and their Families in any Place, even out of *Jerusalem*: And indeed it was but reasonable that the Priests should have this honourable Provision made for them above the *Levites*, their Vocations being of more Importance, and their Service more noble, in the very Sanctuary itself.

The *first Tithe* being paid, the Owner paid out of that which remained a *second Tithe*. This the Husbandman paid *in Kind*, if he pleased; or if he would, he might by way of Commutation pay the Value of it in Money; but if he did, he was obliged to add a fifth Part; so that what *in Kind* amounted to *ten* in the Hundred, when it was changed into Money came to *twelve*. But this Privilege of

Book II. Exchange was allowed to none but such as lived above a Day's Journey from *Jerusalem*; and that it might be certainly known what a Day's Journey was, the Places at that Distance were fixed from every Quarter of the City. This the Husbandman brought up to *Jerusalem*, and made a kind of *Love-Feast* with it, to which he invited the Priests and the *Levites*; only every third Year he brought it not up, but spent it at home within his own Gates, upon the *Levites*, the Fatherless, the Widows, and the Poor. They reckoned their third Year from the Sabbatical Year on which the Land rested; so that the first and second Tithe was paid by the Husbandman the first, second, fourth, and fifth Years after the Sabbatical Year; but upon the third and sixth Years only the first Tithe was paid to the *Levites*, and the second was spent at home: From hence therefore it obtained the Name of the *second Tithe*; and because it was paid to the Poor every third Year, it is called the *poor Man's Tithe*, and the *third Tithe*. Upon those Years on which it was carried up to *Jerusalem*, it was necessarily to be eaten within the Court of the Temple: And by the *third Tithe* we are to understand the *poor Man's Tithe* on the third Year, which Year is called a *Year of Tithes*. The *Jewish* Tradition gives this Account of the Manner and Measure of Tithes: Of Bread-Corn that was threshed and winnowed, a *fifth Part* is taken out for the Priest. This was called the *Great Offering*. A *tenth Part* of the Remainder belong'd to the *Levite*. This was called the *first Tenth*, or *Tithe*. A *tenth Part* again was to be taken out of the Remainder, and was to be eaten at *Jerusalem*, or else redeemed. This was called the *second Tithe*. The *Levite* gives a *tenth* Part out of his to the Priest. This was called the *Tithe of the Tithe*.

There was a Tithe of *Cattle* paid yearly, as an Eucharistical Sacrifice, of Calves, Lambs, and Kids, which were the clean Beasts that were allowed in Sacrifice. The manner of this Tithing,

Tithing, if we believe the *Jews*, was thus: They were all brought into a Sheepcoat, or Fold, in which there was but one Gate, or Door, and that so narrow, as to suffer no more than one to come out at once. Their Dams being placed without, and the Gate opened, their young ones were invited, by their Bleatings, to press to get out to them; and as they passed by, one by one, a Man, who stood at the Gate with a Rod colour'd with Oker, told them in order; and when the Tenth came out, whether it was Male or Female, sound or not, he mark'd it with his Rod, and said, *Let this be holy in the Name of the Tenth.* Thus they expound that Part of the Law; *Whatsoever passeth under the* Rod, *the Tenth shall be holy.* And so fond are they of this Conceit, that they make *Jacob* (who vowed the Tithe of all that God should give him) to have decimated his Children in this manner, beginning at *Benjamin*, and stopping at *Levi*, who was the *tenth* according to this Reckoning. But this Opinion is exploded by Expositors of Note, who understand by the Phrase, that all Cattle are titheable which live under the Custody of a Keeper, as if there were Allusion to the Shepherd's Crook, or Keeper's Staff; for the Flock passed under his *Rod* as often as he number'd them, which a good Shepherd never fail'd to do every Evening. This Tenth was to be sacrificed; the Fat and the Blood was offer'd at the Altar, and the Flesh, according to some, was eaten by the Owner in any part of *Jerusalem*; though others, with more Reason, conclude that the Priests and *Levites* had a Share in these Oblations. The Calf, Goat, or Lamb, thus tithed, though never so lean or blemished, was not to be redeemed, or exchanged for a better; and if any one presumed to sell it, he was to be scourged. Chap. 9.

The time of the Year for the Payment of Tithes was different: For Beasts they reckon'd from *August* to *August*; for Grain, Pulse, or Herbs, from

Book II. from *September* to *September*; and for the Fruit of Trees, from *January* to *January*.

This Injunction concerning Tithes, by degrees, was esteem'd a great Burthen by the People; 2 Chron. 31. 13. insomuch that in the Reign of *Hezekiah*, Tithes began to be generally neglected; and notwithstanding *Overseers* were appointed to look to the Payment of them, yet either through the Neglect of these Officers, or the Covetousness of the People, about a hundred and thirty Years before the Incarnation, Corruption so prevailed, that none, or very few, paid either the *first*, *second*, or *poor Man's Tithe*; only they paid the *Great Heave-*Fol. 199. col. 3. *Offering*. Justly, for this Reason, says *Moses Kotsensis*, in the Days of *John* the Priest, who succeeded *Simeon the Just* (I suppose he means *Johannes Hircanus*) the *Sanhedrim* decreed, that more faithful Overseers should be appointed over the Tithes. At this time many things became questionable whether they were titheable or no; so that the Court ordained, that in things doubtful, though they paid neither *first* nor *poor Man's Tithe*, yet they should pay a *second Tithe*, and a *Small Heave-Offering*; that is, one part of a hundred. Mint, Anise, and Cummin, seem to have been of these doubtful things, of which though the Court required but one in the hundred, yet the *Pharisees* would pay a just *Tenth*; and in this they exceeded the rest of the People, who in these Payments took the Liberty granted them by the *Sanhedrim*. The present *Jews*, who pretend to Religion, though they have neither Country nor Priesthood, yet distribute, in the room of Tithes, the Tenth of their Increase to the Poor; being persuaded that it would derive a Blessing upon their Estates; for their usual Proverb is, *Pay Tithes that thou may'st be rich*. I shall only add upon this Subject, that Tithes were granted to the Priests and *Levites*, not only when they minister'd at the Altar, or in the Temple, but when they studied in the Universities, and preached in the Synagogues; and the Tradition

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is, that if any Money was found in the Streets of *Jeruſalem*, which were ſwept every Day, it was always reckoned as Tenth, or Tithe, and belong'd to the Prieſts. Chap. 9.

As the Prieſts had aſſign'd them yearly the *Firſt-Fruits* of the whole Country, and the *tenth Part* of the Tithe paid to the *Levites*, and all Free-will Offerings, and all the Firſtlings of Cows, Sheep, and Goats, and the Redemption Money for the Firſtlings of ſuch Creatures as were unclean; ſo they had all the Meat-offerings, Offerings for Sin, and Treſpaſs-offerings, together with the Breaſt and Shoulder of all Peace-offerings, and the Skins of all Burnt-offerings (which alone, as *Philo* obſerves, was a great Revenue) and the Loaves made of the firſt Dough, and the Shew-bread; and, as *Joſephus* relates, a conſiderable part of every Beaſt that was killed for private Uſe. A learned Countryman of our own has, in a narrow Compaſs, given a good View of the Revenue that was ſettled by the *Moſaick* Law upon the Levitical Prieſthood. His Account is conciſe, and therefore ſhall be tranſcrib'd in this Place.

Heylin undeceiving of the People in Point of Tithes.

They had, ſays he, beſides Tithes (whereof more anon) the Firſt-born of Mankind, and all unclean Beaſts, which were redeemed at the Rate of five Shekels a piece, amounting in our Money to twelve Shillings and ſix Pence; and of the Firſtlings of clean Beaſts, their Blood being ſprinkled on the Altar, and the Fat offer'd for a Burnt-offering, the Fleſh remain'd unto the Prieſts. They had alſo the Firſt-Fruits of Wine, Oil, and Wool; yea, of all things elſe which the Earth brought forth for the Uſe of Man; the Firſt-Fruits of the Dough, the Meat-offerings, the Sin-offerings, the Treſpaſs-offerings, the Shake-offerings, the Heave-offerings, and the Shew-bread; as alſo of all Euchariſtical Sacrifices, the Breaſt and the Shoulder; of others, the Shoulder and the two Cheeks, and the Maw; and of the whole Burnt-offering they received the Skin.

Numb. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18.

Deut. 18. 4. Levit. 2. 3. & 7. 5, 7.

Numb. 15. 20, 21. Levit. 7. 8, 33, 34.

Then

Book II. Then add, that all the Males of the Tribes of *Israel* were to appear thrice yearly before the Lord, and none of them came empty-handed; and that if any had detained any thing in part, or in whole, which was due by Law, he was to bring a Ram for an Offering, to make good that which was detained, and to add a fifth Part to it in the way of Recompence. Besides, these Duties were brought in to the Priests and Levites without Charge or Trouble: And if any for their own Use desired not to pay *in Kind*, but to redeem the same for a Sum of Money, the Estimation of the Due was made by the Priest, and a fifth Part added, as before, for full Satisfaction. In a word, such and so many Allowances had the Priests and Levites, that setting by the Tithes of their Corn and Cattle, and of all manner of Increase, their Maintenance had far exceeded that of the *English* Clergy; and adding unto these the Tithes of all Creatures titheable, it doth more than double it; for in the Payment of their Tithes by the Lord's Appointment, there was not only a full Tenth of all kinds of Increase, but such an Imposition laid on all kinds of Grain, that came to more than a sixth Part of the Crop it self; insomuch that of six thousand Bushels, one thousand one hundred twenty one accrued unto the Priests and Levites, four thousand seven hundred seventy nine remaining only to the Husbandman. For, first, out of six thousand Bushels (and so accordingly in all, after that Proportion) a sixtieth Part at least (and that they termed *the* Terumah *of the evil Eye*, or the Niggard's First-Fruits) was to be set apart for the First-Fruits of the Threshing Floor, which was one hundred in the Total. Out of the Residue, being five thousand nine hundred Bushels, *the first Tithe*, payable to the *Levites* who lived dispersed and intermingled in the rest of the Tribes, came to five hundred and ninety Bushels; and of the Residue, being five thousand three hundred and ten Bushels, five hundred thirty one were paid for the *second Tithe*

Tithe unto the Priests which minister'd before the Lord in his holy Temple: Yet so, that such as would decline the Trouble of carrying it in Kind unto *Jerusalem*, might pay the Price thereof in Money, according to the Estimate which the Priests made of it; to which a fifth Part being added (as in other Cases) did so improve this Tithe to the Priests Advantage, as that which being paid in Kind was but ten in the hundred, being thus alter'd into Money, made no less than twelve. Now, lay these several Sums together, and of six thousand Bushels, as before was said, there will accrue one thousand one hundred twenty one to the Priest and Levite, and but four thousand seven hundred seventy nine to the Lord or Tenant. By which Account, the Priests and Levites, in the tithing of six thousand Bushels, received twice as much, within a little, as is possess'd or claimed by the *English* Clergy, even where the Tithes are best paid without any Exemptions, which are so frequent in this Kingdom.

CHAP. X.

Of Things devoted; *the Nature and Obligation of* Vows.

THE judicious Writer abovementioned has, I think, omitted one Branch of Revenue that belong'd to the Priests, and which considerably advanc'd their Subsistence; namely, the Money that arose out of Persons and Things *devoted* to God: In this place, therefore, it may be proper to explain the Nature and Obligation of *Vows*, as they are defined by the Law of *Moses*, which is very particular, and treats distinctly of the *Persons* who oblige themselves by Vows, the *Force* they lay upon the Votary, and of the *Things* thus devoted and separated to divine Uses.

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All *Vows* were to be voluntary, and the Offerings made to God to be free and chearful; but if a Person, who was wholly in his own Power, made a Vow in a Thing lawful and possible, and promised something solemnly to God, either by a simple Vow, or the Addition of a *solemn Curse*, he was obliged to fulfil his Vow, or was liable to be punish'd by God for the Robbery and Injustice offer'd him: If he appointed no particular time for accomplishing his Vow, he was bound to do it instantly, lest by delay he should prove less able, or be unwilling to execute his Promise, or perhaps forget it: If the Thing *devoted* chanced to be lost during the delay, he was obliged to give the Value of it: Which was one Difference between a Vow and a Free-will Offering, that in the latter Case, as a *Rabbi* observes, if that which he design'd was stolen, or died, he was not bound to make Reparation. The same Author applies this to a Vow a Man made of giving an Alms to a poor Person, suppose a Shekel, which he was to bestow immediately, if a proper Object was at hand; if not, he was to separate it, and lay it by till he met with one. No human Power was able to absolve or acquit from lawful Vows once made, yet there were Persons appointed to judge whether they were lawful or not, and to determine concerning their Obligation: And, as a modern Writer informs us, there is a Traditional Doctrine among them practised at this Day, that if any Man or Woman make a Vow, which afterwards they wish unmade and repent of, and it be not to the Prejudice of any third Person that it should be broken; in this Case they may go to a Rabbi, or to any other three Men, who hearing the Reasons of his Repentance, and approving them, have Power to free him from the Obligation, by saying, *Be thou absolved from this Vow*; and so he is discharg'd. But this Casuistical Solution is expressly contrary to the Letter of the Law, which insists upon the strict Execution of Vows in things lawful; for which rea-

Maim. de don. Paup. c. 8.

Leo Modena Hist. of the pres. Jews. part 2. cap. 4.

reason the *Jewish* Doctors very prudently advise their Scholars not to accustom themselves to Vows, and be content in obeying the Precepts of the Law, without laying any other Bonds upon themselves. Chap. 10.

It was intimated before, that all Persons who bound themselves by Vows were supposed to be absolutely at their own Disposal, and were under no Power that had Authority to make them void. All Sons who were in the Family of the Father, and undisposed of in Marriage, and all Servants under the Government of their Masters, had no Power to vow without the express Consent of their Superiors: But the Law is most explicite in directing the *Women* in the Nature and the Execution of Vows; and it considers them in a threefold State, before they are married, and after Marriage, and in their Widowhood. If a Maiden in the Family, and under the Government of her Father, made a simple Vow, or bound it by an Oath, and acquainting her Father with it, he did not disallow her Promise, she was obliged by her Vow, and it was not in his Power afterwards to disannul it; but if the Father upon notice of her Vow refused his Consent, tho' she had bound it with an Oath, it was intirely void, and she contracted no Guilt by her not performing. Some have imagined, that when her Father was dead, the Obligation of her Vow revived; because then she was at her own Disposal. But this Conjecture is too nice; for the Father wholly disannull'd the Vow, by not approving it; so that it could not recover a Force it never had, being made without his Consent. The same is to be said of a Guardian, who was supposed to be in the place of the Father, when he died and left his Children to his Care. And this Power was fit to be reserv'd to Parents (says the learned *Puffendorf*) not only lest Women in their imprudent Years should undo themselves by vowing more than their Fortunes could bear, but also lest the paternal Estate should be burden'd

den'd by such Vows, or the necessary Affairs of the Family hinder'd: So that this Power did not flow from positive Laws, but from natural Reason, no Body, that is subject to another, having any Right to dispose of those things which are under that Power to which they are subject. When a married Woman, or one espoused to a Husband, though still in her Father's House, made a Vow, then her Husband, under whose Power she now was, was to determine about it; and the Case was exactly the same as that of a Daughter under the Authority of her Father. If the Husband, after he had consented, refused the Woman the Liberty of fulfilling her Vow, she was acquitted, and the Guilt lay wholly at his own Door. A Widow or a divorced Woman, tho' she returned to her Father's House, who by that means might be supposed to recover his ancient Right over her, yet remained perfectly at her own Disposal, and was absolutely obliged to stand to her Vows. The Matter of these Vows of Women seldom extended to the devoting any part of their Goods to the Service of the Priests, or other sacred Purposes; but consisted generally in abstaining from such and such Meats, tho' in themselves lawful; or in binding themselves to fast upon other Days, as well as upon the great Day of Expiation, which was the only Fast ordained by the Law of *Moses:* And this kind of Vow was called *a Vow of Prohibition* or *Obligation.*

There was another sort of Vow called a Vow of *Consecration*, when any thing was devoted to the Service of the Altar, or the Temple, or the Priests: Only this Distinction was observed, that when a thing was devoted simply in such Words as these, *Let this thing be a devoted thing*, it was always understood to be set apart wholly for the Priests; but when there was an Addition that determined it to a certain use, as in this manner, *Let this be a thing devoted, offer'd by me to holy Uses*, the thing devoted was then employ'd about the Reparation of

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the Temple, the sacred Vessels, the Garments of the Priesthood, or other holy Purposes. The devoted things that were the Portion of the Priests, differ'd in this from Free-will-Offerings, that every thing that was offer'd as a *Cherem*, or a thing devoted *with a Curse*, might be eaten only by the Priests in the holy Place, but other Freewill Offerings by the whole Family, in any Place that was not polluted. Chap. 10.

The Vow of *Consecration* admitted of several Degrees: The highest is what the Law calls a *singular* or an extraordinary Vow, when a Man vow'd himself, or his Children, wholly to the Service of God in the Tabernacle; it being a singular Instance of Devotion and Piety, when Men are forward to assist the Priests of God in the meanest Ministry, such as bringing in Wood, carrying out Ashes, sweeping away the Dust, and such like Offices. In this Case, the Persons thus devoted were not admitted to do any part of holy Service; but a Value was set upon them by the Priest, and that was employ'd in holy Uses. The reason why God would not accept of the Persons themselves as they desired, but the Value of them for his Service, seems to be, because there was a sufficient number of Persons peculiarly design'd for all the Work of the Tabernacle, which he would not have incumber'd with more Attendance than what was absolutely useful: And that the Priest might not either overvalue or undervalue any Person, the Law has expresly fixed the Rates which he should demand for their Redemption. A Man from twenty Years old to sixty was to be redeemed for fifty Shekels of Silver, after the Shekel of the Sanctuary. This was the highest Value, and not without reason; for from twenty to sixty Men are the most able to do Service. Women under the same Restriction for Age were not able to be so useful as Men; and therefore the Price of their Redemption was less: They could do no more than spin or weave, or make Garments, or wash for the Priests and *Levites*; and therefore

Book II.

they were valued at no more than thirty Shekels. A Parent had a Power to devote a Child to the Service of God: If the Child was a Male, between the Age of five Years and twenty, the Price of Redemption was twenty Shekels; if a Female, she was redeemed for ten. A Child was not capable of being devoted before it was a Month old; but then it might; and the Price between that Age and five Years old was five Shekels for the Male, and three for the Female. A Man beyond sixty was redeemed for no more than fifteen Shekels, because his Labour then is almost past, and his Life likely to be short: A Female was redeemed for ten. And here the *Hebrews* think it observable, that in their Youth Males were valued almost double to Females; but now, in old Age, they are made almost of equal Value; for old Women continue serviceable in many Cases, when old Men are of no use; and therefore they have a common Proverb among them, *An old Woman in a House is a Treasure*. If a Person was so poor as not to be able to pay the Prices of Redemption abovementioned, the Priest, who was then in Attendance at the Tabernacle, was to examine into his Circumstances and Abilities, and upon the best Information to set such a Rate upon him, as he might be able to pay, without injuring himself or his Family.

If a Man vowed a clean Beast to divine Use, whether he expressly intended it for a Sacrifice, or to be given to the Priests and *Levites*, or left it at large to be sold for the Service of the Tabernacle, he had not a Power to alter it for any other Beast or thing, nor to change it for any Beast of the same kind; but that very Beast which was vowed, was to be given to the Uses intended, and no other accepted in its stead, tho' it were really better. If a Man presumed to change what he had vowed, he was to be beaten, and both the one and the other Beast was reputed holy. This Law is thus explained by the *Jews*, that if he changed the Beast he vowed twice or thrice, or

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a thousand times, they all became sacred, and he was also to suffer the Punishment of Stripes for every one of them. A devoted Beast that was unclean, and not fit for Sacrifice, was to be valued by the Priest; and if the Man who vowed was willing, he might redeem it at the Price set upon it; but he was obliged to add a fifth part to the Redemption Money, that he might be sure to give the full Value, which he was supposed to understand better than the Priest; for it was in the Man's Choice, either to leave the Beast with the Priest, or to pay the Money set upon it. He was not allowed to change it for a clean Beast, not only because it was dedicated to God, but because that Exchange might have been a great Damage to the Priest, many unclean Beasts being of greater Value than some clean; a Horse or a Camel, for Instance, of greater Price than a Sheep or a Goat. Chap. 10.

A House sanctified, or devoted to sacred Uses, was to be valued by the Priest, and the Price fixed upon it was not to be altered: If the Man thought fit to redeem it, he was to add the fifth part to the Rate set upon it; if he did not, the House could never return to him again, no not at the Jubilee. A Man might devote part of his Estate which descended to him from his Ancestors; but it was not lawful for him to sanctify the whole; because God would have no Man's Family undone, and made Beggars, to enrich his Sanctuary. In this Case it was to be valued by the Priest according to the Quantity of Seed required to sow it: So much Land as an Omer of Barley would sow, was to be rated at fifty Shekels; and so, proportionably, so much as would take up two Omers at a hundred, or half an Omer at five and twenty. This was the Law, provided the Vow was made immediately after the Jubilee, or in that Year; but if the Vow was past some Years after, the Priest was to compute how many Years were gone since the last Jubilee, and how many remained till the next, and accordingly to deduct

from the Rate of fifty Shekels beforementioned either more or leſs, as the Years yet to come were more or fewer. The Man, if he paid the Redemption-Money, was to add a fifth part; but if he refuſed, he was for ever excluded the Benefit of Redemption: Nor, if the Prieſt upon his Refuſal had ſold the Land to another, did it in the Jubilee return to the firſt Owner who vowed it, but to the Prieſts, it being ſolemnly conſecrated to divine Service. Some are of opinion, that devoted Lands, thus forfeited for want of Redemption, were to be ſold by the Prieſts to ſome of the Kindred of the Perſon who vowed, or to ſome of his Tribe; for otherwiſe Lands would go out of the Tribe to which they belong'd: Beſides, they ſay, the Prieſts were to have no Inheritance in the Country. But theſe ſeem not to be ſolid Reaſons why the Prieſts ſhould not enjoy this Land themſelves; for tho' they were to have no Inheritance in the Diviſion of the Land of *Canaan*, yet if any fell to them by the Means now mentioned, (which was but ſeldom, ſince Men were very ſtrict in preſerving their Inheritances) God thought fit to beſtow ſuch Land upon his Prieſts, who might poſſeſs it if they pleaſed, becauſe they had it in his Right, or elſe ſell it, and keep the Money to their own Uſe. No Lay-man could enjoy an Eſtate that he purchaſed, longer than till the Year of Jubilee, when it was to return to the Family of whom it was bought: Now if ſuch purchaſed Lands were devoted, the Prieſt was to value them according to his Judgment, with reſpect to the number of Years between the Time of the Vow and the Year of Jubilee, and the Price was to be immediately paid, but without the Addition of a fifth part, which he who redeemed his paternal Inheritance was bound to pay over and above the Price ſet by the Prieſt; for this was not ſo valuable as that, being but for a Term of Years, and to be deliver'd up at the Jubilee to the hereditary Owner.

It was ſtrictly forbidden to vow a Firſtling of a clean

clean Beast for a Sacrifice, either as a whole Burnt-Offering, or a Peace-Offering; because that was holy already by a prior Right: Yet the *Jews* devised a way to give such a Firstling to God by a new Obligation, and not offend, as they imagine, against this Law; for they interpret the Prohibition concerning Firstlings already brought forth: No Man might devote such; but while they were in the *Womb* they might; saying, *I vow that Lamb* (suppose) *which my Ewe goes with, to be a whole Burnt-Offering to God if it proves a Male.* But they could not vow it, they say, for a Peace-Offering, because no one could make an Alteration in a Law, when his own Advantage is concern'd. If a Man had redeemed the Firstling of an unclean Beast, and by that means made it his own, he might devote it if he pleased; then the Priest was to value it, and it might be redeemed at the Price by the Person that vowed, by adding a fifth part: But if he refused, any other Man might buy it at the Rate fixed, and the Money was applied to holy Uses. It must be observed, that nothing vowed had the Benefit of Redemption, but what was separated by a *simple Vow*; but what was devoted with a *Cherem*, or a Curse upon him that vowed, if he did not fulfill his Engagement, remained irreversibly and unalterably to the Use unto which it was sanctified; the Person was accursed who applied it to any other purpose. Such things devoted were called *most Holy*, so that none might touch them but the Priests; and they were so strictly applied to divine Service, that they could not be alienated either by Sale, or Redemption, or Commutation, or Donation, or any other way. The *Sanhedrim* (called in Scripture the *whole Congregation*) had a Power to *devote* their Enemies to *Death*, before they went to War with them, and such of their own People who refused to obey the military Laws. In this case there was no Redemption to be allowed, but the Persons so devoted were to be put to Death. Chap. 10.

CHAP. XI.

The Levitical *Order; the Age of Admission of the* Levites; *the time of Discharge from Duty; their* Consecration; *and their several Offices under the* Tabernacle.

THE *Levites*, distinctly so called, were not Priests, but consisted of the whole Tribe of *Levi*, the Posterity of *Aaron* only excepted. The Priesthood was establish'd in this Tribe by divine Appointment. *Levi* had three Sons, *Cohath*, *Gershon*, and *Merari*. Of these the Line of *Cohath* had the Preference. From him descended four Families, *Amram*, *Izhar*, *Hebron*, and *Uzziel*. Of these the Stock of *Amram* was principal. He had two Sons, *Aaron* and *Moses*: *Aaron* was ordained High-Priest, which Office generally descended by Succession in the eldest Branch of his Family; the rest of his Posterity were Priests. The Descendants of *Cohath*, *Gershon*, and *Merari*, were *Levites*; and accordingly they were distinguish'd into three Degrees, *Cohathites*, *Gershonites*, and *Merarites*.

The Institution of the *Levitical* Order was design'd by God as an Exchange for all the First-born of the *Israelites*, to whom he had a just Title by that great Miracle, when he destroy'd all the First-born of the *Egyptians*, and spared the Children of the *Hebrews*: By which Mercy he acquir'd a just Right to them, and commanded a solemn Dedication of them to his own Use. But God abhor'd humane Sacrifices; and therefore, though the First-born were separated to himself, yet they were not to be offer'd as Victims, as the Male Firstlings of clean Beasts were, but to be redeemed. Now this Redemption was effected by God's exchanging the First-

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born, whom before he challeng'd as his own, and accepting the *Levites* in their Place. The Number of the *Levites* was taken by *Moſes*, and a Computation was made of the First-born of the Males of the Children of *Iſrael* from a Month old and upward. Upon caſting up, the First-born exceeded the *Levites* by two hundred threeſcore and thirteen, with whom they were exchang'd as far as the Number of the *Levites* would go: The First-born that were above the Number were to be redeem'd at the Price of five Shekels by the Pole, which Sum they who were born after that time always paid to the Prieſt. But there ſeems to be a Difficulty in this Caſe, to determine which of the First-born was to be redeemed, and which ſhould be exchanged for the *Levites*; for every one of the *Iſraelites*, no doubt, was deſirous rather to have his First-born redeem'd by a *Levite*, than by paying five Shekels; and yet ſome of them muſt be put to this Expence, there not being *Levites* enough to anſwer for them all. The *Jews* imagine that there was no way to remove this Difficulty, but by drawing of Lots. For this purpoſe *Moſes* took two and twenty thouſand Scrolls of Parchment, (which was the Number of the *Levites*) and wrote in them theſe Words, *A Son of* Levi; and two hundred and ſeventy and three more, wherein he wrote *Five Shekels*: And then putting them all together in an Urn, and ſhaking it to mingle them, he commanded every one of the First-born to come and put in his Hand, and draw out a Schedule; and to him that drew out one of the former ſort, he ſaid, *a* Levite *has redeem'd thee*; but to him that drew out one of the latter, he ſaid, *pay thy Price*. This Method ſeems probable enough, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the Congregation redeem'd the two hundred ſeventy three First-born out of a common Stock, which was a ſhorter way, but not ſo divine as the other. The Parents were not obliged to redeem their First-born till they were a Month old; yet the *Jews* Chap. 11.

distinguish between the time when the Redemption Money was due, and when it was offer'd. This latter was deferr'd till the Mother was abroad again; but it was due, and the Father oblig'd to pay it, as soon as the Child was a Month old.

The Ages of the *Levites* when they enter'd into the Service were various, according to the different Offices they were to execute. At five and twenty they were *Probationers*, and admitted to attend upon the Priests, and wait upon the Tabernacle; then they might be *Door-keepers*, to keep out Strangers, and such as were unclean; but they were excused the more laborious Work, such as bearing the Ark, and loading the Waggons, till they were thirty. When the Ark was settled in the Temple, and was no more to be carried up and down, *David*, by divine Warrant, changed the time of their Admission, and received them into the Service at twenty Years. The Attendance of *Samuel* at the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*, from a very Child, was a Case extraordinary; he was there but as a *Candidate*, to be instructed in the manner of the *Song* and of the *Service*. At the *Age* of fifty they were to be discharged from their Function, so far as to be exempted from any hard and laborious Work; and no Ministry was required of them, but what they might easily execute without Pains or Labour. The Rabbins deliver their Opinion thus upon this Subject: There is something lawful in the Priests which is unlawful in the *Levites*, and there is something lawful in the *Levites* that is unlawful in the Priests. The Priests upon any Blemish are incapable to serve, they are never past their Office by their Years. The *Levites* by reason of their Years may be unfit for their Function, but upon the account of a Blemish they are not. By the Precept which says, that at the Age of Fifty they are freed from waiting, it is easy to observe that Years will render the *Levites* unfit. Perhaps also the Priests may be unfit through Years. And, indeed,

deed, does it not seem reasonable, that if the *Levites*, whom a Blemish renders not incapable, should yet be disabled by Superannuation, should not the Priests much rather be pronounc'd unfit by Superannuation, when even a Spot or Blemish makes them unqualified? But the Text says, this is the Law of the *Levites*, not, this is the Law of the Priests. A Priest, from the time he comes to Maturity, till he grows old, is allow'd to minister; and yet a Spot or Blemish makes him unfit. A *Levite*, from his thirtieth to his fiftieth Year, is fit for Service; but being superannuated he becomes unfit. How must this be understood concerning the *Levites*? for the time wherein the Ark was in the Wilderness; but at *Shiloh* and in the Temple they were never esteem'd unfit, unless through the Defect of their Voice. When the *Levites* were discharged by Age from the laborious Part of the Service, they had time to apply themselves to Learning and Study; by which means they became expert in Medicine and Policy, and other polite Arts; so that they were able to govern Schools for the Education of Youth, and qualified for the highest Posts in the Government; and many of them were deservedly advanc'd to the principal Offices in the Commonwealth. Chap. II. Grotius in Deut. 17.

Before the *Levites* were permitted to minister, they were set apart by a solemn Rite of Consecration; they were purified and dedicated to divine Use, by being sprinkled with the Water of Purification; then they were to shave all their Flesh, that (as a Rabbi comments) all the Hairs being taken off, they might separate themselves from worldly Cares as much as might be, and wholly give themselves up to their sacred Ministry. Their Bodies being clean, they were to wash their Clothes, that they should not be defiled by sordid Apparel. Then they were presented to God at the Altar, and the Rulers and Governors of the People laid their Hands upon their Heads, as Men used to do upon their Sacrifices. This Cere-

Ceremony signified the devoting of the Beast to God by him who laid his Hand on it at the Altar, for such Purposes as he brought it: And therefore the *Levites* were here consider'd under the Notion of a Sin-Offering, and being given to God instead of the First-born (by the Sanctification of which First-born the whole Family was sanctified, and their Sin in a manner expiated) the Offering of the *Levites* to God, by Imposition of Hands, was to have the same Effect as the Offering of the First-born had; that is, to procure the Sanctification and Atonement of the whole People, the *Levites* being consider'd as an expiatory Sacrifice; and yet, not being to be devoted to Death, two Bullocks were order'd to be sacrificed as Substitutes in their stead; the one for a Sin, the other for a Burnt-Offering. Upon these Victims the *Levites* were to lay their Hands, that the Sin, which the whole Nation laid upon them, might be transfer'd to these Beasts, that were actually sacrificed to God, and their Blood shed. These were the initiatory Rites by which the *Levites* were at first consecrated, before they were allowed to enter upon their Ministry.

It must be observ'd, that there were two Sorts of *Levitical* Service; the first instituted by *Moses* for the Uses of the Tabernacle, the second establish'd by *David* upon account of the Temple. In the first the *Levites* were appointed to take down the Tabernacle, to set it up, to carry it about as the Host removed, and to take care of all the Instruments belonging to it; and for the more regular Management of their Office, the whole Business was divided between the *Cohathites*, the *Gershonites*, and the *Merarites*, in this manner: The Employment of the *Cohathites* was principally concern'd about the Sanctuary, or Holiest of all, under the Conduct of *Eleazar* the Priest, to bear the Ark of the Testimony, and all the Instruments of the Sanctuary; they carried the covering Veil that divided the Sanctuary and the Holiest of all, the Table of Shew-bread, the Dishes,

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the Incenſe, the Incenſe Cups, the Goblets, and the continual Bread, the Candleſtick, with the Lamps, Snuffers, Snuff-diſhes, and the Oil Veſſels, the Golden Altar for Incenſe, and the miniſtring Inſtruments, the Altar of Burnt-Offering, the Cenſers, the Fleſh-hooks and the Baſons, and all the Utenſils that belong'd to it. But theſe being the holieſt Things, were to be taken down and packed up by the Prieſts, ſome of them in blue Silk, ſome in Scarlet, ſome in purple Cloth, all in Badgers Skins, and the Bars and Carriages to be put to them by the Prieſts; and then the *Cohathites* came and carried them away, but dared not preſume to touch them, nor look upon them when folded up, leſt they ſhould be cut off by a divine Stroke; and *Aaron* was to appoint every Man his particular Office. Chap. II.

The *Gerſhonites* were under the Command of *Ithamar* the Son of *Aaron*: Their Office was to bear the Curtains of the Tabernacle, and the Tabernacle of the Congregation, its Covering, and the Covering of Badgers Skins, and the Veil of the Door of the Tabernacle, the Curtain of the Court that was near the Tabernacle, and the Altar round about, with all the Cords and Utenſils belonging to them.

The *Merarites* were likewiſe under the Direction of *Ithamar*: They had in charge the Boards of the Tabernacle, with the Bars, Pillars, and Sockets; and the Pillars round about the Court, with their Sockets, and their Pins, and their Cords, with all the Utenſils and Inſtruments for Service. *Ithamar* was to give them an Inventory of the Particulars, expreſſing by Name every Pin, for inſtance, and to what Uſe, and in what Place it ſerved; becauſe without ſuch Care ſome of theſe ſmall things might have been loſt, and the Tabernacle when it reſted could not have been erected for want of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Office of the Templar Levites, Porters, Singers, Musicians, Treasurers; *the* Provincial Levites.

IN the preceding Chapter it is defined what was the Office and Charge of the *Levites*, as they were simply *Levites*, and minister'd about the Tabernacle; but when *Solomon* had built the Temple, and there settled the Ark, the Altars, and the holy Implements, this Employment of theirs was at an end; for these things were now no more to be carried up and down. *David* therefore, foreseeing this, transposed the *Levites* to new Offices. Before they were *Levites* of the Tabernacle, now he makes some of them *Levites* of the Temple, and others lived abroad in the Country, and may properly be called Provincial *Levites*. This may be collected from the Command given them by King *Josiah*; *Put the holy Ark in the House which* Solomon *the Son of* David *King of* Israel *did build; it shall not be a Burden upon your Shoulders: Serve now the Lord your God, and his People* Israel. The *Levites* of the Temple therefore were instituted by *David*, but inducted by *Solomon*. There was an Officer in chief over each of the *Levitical* Families; and over all these commanding Officers was one set supreme, who had a Jurisdiction over them, as each of them severally govern'd the Family that was under him.

2 Chron. 35. 3.

The *Templar Levites* were divided into *Porters* and *Singers*, which were fixed Offices, that they were not allowed to change: They were not to intrude into another's Office; and neither of them, except upon extraordinary Occasions, into the Priests. The Distribution of Porters into four and twenty Courses is not so clearly evident in Scripture, as that of the Priests and Singers is; for

for the Courſes of both thoſe are both number'd and nam'd; but theſe are not: Yet the Courſes of the Porters may be reaſonably concluded from what is ſaid of *Solomon*; (where the Diviſion of the Porters into Courſes is mentioned in the ſame manner with the Prieſts and Singers) *He appointed the Courſes of the Prieſts, according to the Order of* David *his Father, and the* Levites *to their Charges, to praiſe and miniſter before the Lord, as the Duty of every Day requir'd; the Porters alſo by their Courſes at every Gate.* Amongſt all the Porters (ſays a *Jewiſh* Rabbi) there were four and twenty, according to the reſt of the Courſes, ſix on the Eaſt Side, four on the North, four on the South, at *Aſuppim* two and two, four in all, four on the Weſt, and two at *Parbar*; behold four and twenty, and our Rabbins have diſtributed them into four and twenty Places. As the Prieſts ſhared the Service among them by Lot, ſo the *Levites* likewiſe, as well thoſe that were Singers as thoſe that were Porters, decided by Lot what Order of Courſe ſhould be obſerved in their muſical and miniſterial Employment by the one, and what Gates of the Temple ſhould be attended upon by the other. The Office of the Porters was, firſt, to open and ſhut the Doors of the Mountain of the Houſe, and of the Court of the Women, (for the Prieſts were the appointed Guards to open and ſhut the Gates of the other Court) and to attend in thoſe Gates all the Day, to prevent any Inconvenience that might happen, in prejudice of the Purity, Safety, or Peace, of the Place or Service. Beſide this Care of the Porters at the Gates by Day, there were four and twenty appointed to watch the Temple by Night. To guard the Sanctuary (ſays *Maimonides*) was an affirmative Precept, though there was no Fear either of Enemies or Thieves; and the Command concerning this Guarding was, that it ſhould be by Night: They that warded were the Prieſts and the *Levites*. Now whether the *Levites*, that were of theſe Guards, were the Porters only, and

Chap. 12.

Kimchi in 1 Chron. 26.

In Beth. habbech. per. 3.

and not the Singers also of every Course as it came in, is difficult to judge: However, the Guards were in Number four and twenty, and were kept every one in four and twenty Places every Night; three of Priests, and one and twenty of *Levites*. There was a Guard at every one of these Gates of the Mountain of the House, one at the East Gate *Shusha*, one at the North Gate *Tedi*, two at the two South Gates *Huldah*, and one at the West Gate *Coponius*; and there was a Guard within every one of the four Corners of that great Square, so that there were nine in that boundary Wall that incompassed the holy Ground. The three other Gates on the West Quarter, namely, one of *Parbar*, and two of *Asuppim*, were not guarded by Night as the others were, though they had Porters by Day, either because the Descent was so steep that they were in no danger, or they were secured some other way. About the Wall that inclosed the Courts there were two Guards at the two East Corners, and two at the West, and both of them without the Wall of the Court; and there were five at five of the seven Gates. The two Gates that were not guarded by the *Levites*, were the Water-gate, over which there was a Guard of Priests in the Chamber of *Abshines*, and the upper Gate of *Corban*, by which there was a Guard of Priests in the Room *Beth Mokadh*. There was one Guard of *Levites* more on the North-side, in the Chamber of *Corban*, over against the holy Place; and another on the South side over against the Veil, and another just behind the most holy Place. The Gate *Nitsets* had a Guard of Priests and *Levites* both at it, very near together. There was a Person who walked the Round through all these Guards every Night, who was called *the Man of the Mountain of the House*. If he found the Watch standing, he passed them, saying, Peace be unto you; if he found any one asleep, he struck him, and had liberty to set his Clothes on fire. Whether this Officer were the *Sagan*, (as some imagine) or one of

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the Course that was then in waiting, is not so easy to determine. Thus were the Guards disposed under the second Temple. Chap. 12.

Another part of the *Levitical* Ministry consisted in singing; and the Singers, as the Priests, were divided into twenty four Courses. It is disputed whether any were employ'd in the Temple Musick but the *Levites* only. If any were, it was necessary they should be as near the Priesthood as possible, both for Alliance, and Accomplishments; but when they were thoroughly qualified, they were not admitted to join Voices with the Vocal Musick, which was the proper Song, and the proper Service, but only with the Instrumental; that is, if a Person of singular Worth and Piety, or was nearly allied to the Priesthood, had apply'd himself to Musical Devotion, and offer'd his Service in the Choir, he was allowed to join his Instrument among the others; but he was not admitted among the Voices; for that Service was peculiar to the *Levites*. The number of Voices were never to be under twelve, for so was the number of every Course, but as many above as might be: And whereas the Children of the *Levites* were never allowed to come within the Court upon any other occasion, or at any other time; yet when the *Levites* were singing, they were admitted to sing with them, not to go up into the Desks and to look over, as the *Levites* did, but to stand upon the Ground between their Fathers Legs.

The Instruments in use were either Wind Instruments, or Instruments with Strings. The chief of the Wind Instruments were the Trumpets: The number of them was to be not under two, nor above a hundred and twenty. They were blown by the Priests, for so was the original Institution, who, when they were ministring in this Service, did not stand with the *Levites*, nor near them; but upon the other Side of the Altar, looking down the Court when they blew, as the *Levites* stood looking up the Court when they sang and play'd;

Book II. play'd; but both looking upon the Altar. The manner of their blowing with Trumpets, was first a long plain Blast, then a Blast with Breathing and Quaverings, then a long plain Blast again; and they never blew, but these three Blasts went together.

Another Wind Instrument that they used, was a Pipe, or Haut-boy, or Cornet, or some such loud Wind Musick. This Instrument was not constantly used at the Altar every Day, as the Trumpets were, and the other Instruments we are to speak of; but it was blown only twelve days in the Year, namely, upon the killing of the first Passover, at the killing of the second Passover, on the first Holy-day of the Passover Week, on the Holy-day of Pentecost, and on the eight Days of the Feast of Tabernacles.

Those other Instruments that were the constant Musick, and never failed from Attendance, were the *Nebbel*, *Kinnor*, and *Tseltsel*; and these were distributed severally to the Sons of the three Master Musicians *Asaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun*. The two first are constantly translated Harps, and Psalteries; and though they were both Instruments with Strings, yet there was this Difference between them: The one was struck with a Quill or Bow, as our Citterns and Violins are; and the other with the Fingers, as the Lute; the Notes of the one was made and differenced by Frets and Stops, and of the other by the several Strings. The *Nebbel* had twelve Strings, which made twelve several Notes; the *Kinnor* had but ten Strings, and the Notes were made with Stops and Frets: The *Nebbel* therefore, according to this Description, might be translated a Harp, for the several Strings made the several Notes, and it was struck with the Fingers; and the *Kinnor* was like our Violins, stopt on the Frets, and play'd upon with a Bow. The *Tseltsel* we translate Cymbal, which seems to have been neither an Instrument by Wind, nor Strings, but some broad Instrument of Brass, that was beat upon to make Musick, as a Taber. There

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was but one Cymbal allowed to be in Choir at once, which seems to have born the Base: There might not be less than two Harps, nor above six; and of Violins not under nine, but as many above as possible; so that the least Choir that could be admitted, consisted of nine Violins, two Harps, and one Cymbal. Chap. 12.

Every Morning, at the opening of the Court Gates, the Trumpets sounded their *Taratantara*; as we may call it, particularly at the opening of the East Gate, the Gate of *Nicanor*. This Practice had no expres's Command for it in the *Mosaick* Law, yet it was justified by Necessity and Reason; because by this Blast the *Levites* and Stationary Men had notice to come to attend their Desks and Service, and the People of *Jerusalem* might know the time to come to worship at the Temple; so that this Sounding was like Bells to ring them into the Service; and after this the Trumpets sounded not till the very time of the Morning Sacrifice. The Song and Musick began not to sound till the pouring out of the Drink-Offering; because till that was poured out, the Offering was not complete, and then they began. The constant and ordinary Psalms that were sung were these: Upon the first Day of the Week, the four and twentieth, beginning, *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof*; because upon the first Day of the Week of the Creation, God possessed the World, and gave it in Possession, and govern'd it: Upon the second Day they sung the forty eighth, *Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised*; for on that Day the Lord divided his Works, the Waters, and reigned over them: Upon the third Day they sung the eighty second, *God standeth in the Congregation of the mighty*; because on that Day the Earth appeared, upon which there must be judging, and Judges; and by his Wisdom he discovered the Earth, and establish'd the World by his Understanding: Upon the fourth Day they sung the ninety fourth, *O Lord God, to whom Vengeance belongeth*; because upon the fourth Day he made

the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and will be avenged on them who worſhip them: Upon the fifth Day they ſung the eighty firſt, *Sing aloud unto God our Strength, make a joyful Noiſe unto the God of Jacob*; becauſe of the Variety of Creatures that were made that Day to praiſe his Name: Upon the ſixth Day they ſung the ninety third, *The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with Majeſty*; becauſe on the ſixth Day God finiſh'd his Works of the Creation, made Man, who underſtands the Glory of the Creator, and the Lord ruled over all his Works: Upon the Sabbath Day they ſung the ninety ſecond Pſalm, which bears the Title of *A Pſalm or Song for the Sabbath Day.*

When theſe Pſalms were ſung, they were divided by the Singers into three Parts, and they made a long Reſt, by ceaſing from Muſick and Singing between every Part. At theſe three Intermiſſions the Trumpets ſounded, and the People worſhip'd. The Sounding (as was obſerved before) was a *Taratantara*, that is, three Strains, a Plain, a Quavering, and a Plain again; and thus they ſounded one and twenty Blaſts every Day, three at the opening of the Court Gate, nine at the Morning Sacrifice, and nine at the Evening Sacrifice; that is, three Soundings at the three Intermiſſions of the Muſick, and the three Strains abovementioned at every Sounding; ſo that the Trumpets never joined with the Choir in Conſort, but ſounded only when the Choir was ſilent.

Thus was the Song, and theſe were the Pſalms that were commonly ſung throughout the Year; but upon ſome certain Days there were other Pſalms and Songs uſed; and the Trumpets alſo ſounded extraordinary Soundings, beſides thoſe abovementioned. Upon the Eve of the Sabbath the Trumpets ſounded two Soundings more than they uſed to do upon other Days; one to give notice to the People to leave off Work, and another to diſtinguiſh between the common Day and the Holy Day that was now begun. Upon the Sabbaths there was an additional Sacrifice, beſides

sides the daily Sacrifice. At the time of this additional Sacrifice the *Levites* sung the Song of *Moses, Hear O Heavens, and I will speak*; but they did not sing the whole Song, but divided it into six Parts; one part of it was sung every Sabbath; and so they finish'd it in six Days, and then they began again. This was the Service at the additional Morning Sacrifice; and at the Evening Sacrifice they sung the Song of *Moses, I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.* At the additional Sacrifice and Sabbatical Song the Priests sounded their Trumpets three times more than they did at the ordinary Songs, the Singers making their Pauses and Rests in those Songs, as well as in the other. At the additional Sacrifices appointed for the first Day of the Year (called the Feast of Trumpets) the *Levites* sung the eighty first Psalm, *Sing aloud unto the God our Strength*: And if the first Day of the Year happen'd to fall upon the fifth Day of the Week, (for which Day this Psalm was sung in the ordinary Course) then it was sung twice, once at the daily Sacrifice, and once at the additional Sacrifice; only at one of the times they began at the sixth Verse, *I removed his Shoulder from the Burden.* At the Evening Sacrifice of the first Day of the Year the nine and twentieth Psalm was sung, *The Voice of the Lord shaketh the Wilderness*: And if the first Day of the Year fell upon the Sabbath, the Psalms for the Day took place of the Sabbatical Psalms, and were sung in the Service.

Chap. 12. Deut. 32. Exod. 15.

The Office of the *Levites* was not confined to singing, and keeping Guard at the Temple; they were likewise appointed to be Treasurers, and intrusted with the Care and Management of the Revenue that belong'd to the Ministry. There were three of these Officers: One was the principal and high Treasurer; the next to him had the Care of the Maintenance appointed for the Support of the Temple Service, and was called the *Ruler of the Treasures*; to the other were committed the Treasures of things *Dedicated*, the

Book II. Gifts and Freewill-Offerings of the Princes, Captains, Priests, or any other of the People, that were presented voluntarily out of Spoils taken in War, or arising any other way, and applied for the Uses of the Temple, and the Officers that belong'd to it. In short, the Business of the Templar *Levites* was to provide the Shew-Bread for the holy Table, fine Flower for Meat-Offerings, and the unleavened Cakes; to assist the Priests in their Ministrations upon Sabbaths and publick Festivals, but not to come near the Vessels of the Sanctuary, nor of the Altar, to officiate as Priests; though in Cases of Necessity, when the number of Priests was insufficient, they were sometimes called in to kill and to flay the Sacrifices.

The *Provincial Levites* were such as were dispersed through the whole Country of *Palestine*, and employ'd in the Service of the State as well as of the Church; for the *Levitical* Tribe in the time of *David* was so numerous, that there were thirty eight thousand *Levites*, besides the Priests; so great a number, says *Grotius*, that it is impossible but some of them were more for Ornament than Use; many of them therefore were employed in Civil Affairs, and were publick Officers in the Commonwealth. They presided in the Courts of Justice in the several Cities, when the Courses of their Ministry were over; for they came in and went out by set Numbers every Week, in twenty four Courses, and appeared at the Temple but once in four and twenty Weeks, unless at the three grand Solemnities. This Recess gave them Opportunity to instruct the People in the *Mosaick* Law; to expound the Moral, the Ceremonial and Judicial Parts of it; and to judge in Matters of Controversy that were brought before them. *Josephus* reckons the number of the *Levites* of this kind, with their Scribes, as he calls them, to be six thousand; from whence it appears, that the Sect of the Scribes belonged to the Judges. The publick Records and Genealogies were preserved by these *Levites*; they were the Lawyers and Recorders;

In 1 Chron. 23. 3.

Antiq. lib. 7. cap. 15.

ders; to them belong'd the Administration of Justice, the Exposition of the Laws, the writing out of Copies of the Holy Books for the Use of the Synagogues in the Country, the Preservation of the Lineage of their Tribes, the laying the Rolls of the Records in relation to Things sacred and civil, (that concern'd either the King or the People) so that Persons of the greatest Rank and Quality were of the *Levitical* Tribe. We find them to be chief Judges of the Land, Generals of the Army, and Counsellors of State to the King. They were the principal Advancers of Learning and Knowledge: They excell'd in all the Arts and Sciences of those Ages, the Schools of the Prophets, and the Universities of the Land, being under their Government and Institution. Chap. 12.

There were no peculiar Vestments prescrib'd by the Law of *Moses* for the *Levites* to wear in the time of their Ministry. It is certain, they were different from the Sacerdotal Habit; for *Josephus* speaks of two hundred thousand silken Stoles that *Solomon* provided for the *Levites* who chanted the holy Hymns; and the *Levites*, as the same Author observes, petition'd King *Agrippa*, that they might be allow'd to wear the Robe belonging to the Priests, and go no more in their ordinary Clothes. However, their outward Garment was a Tunick of fine Linen. When they were out of their Office, and travell'd in the Country, they were generally provided, as the *Jews* say, with a Staff, a Purse, and a Copy of the Law.

Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2.

Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.

1 Chron. 15. 27.

Jevamoth 167.

CHAP. XIII.

The Number of the Levitical Cities, *with the Use and Extent of their Suburbs. The Cities of* Refuge, *and their Privileges.*

BESIDES the Revenue and Subsistence which the *Levites* receiv'd from the Tithes, they had forty eight Cities assign'd them in several Parts of the Country, whereby they were dispers'd among the Tribes, and by that means the better able to instruct the People in the divine Law: Not that it was unlawful for them to hire or purchase Houses in any other City, particularly at *Jerusalem*, or the Place where the Tabernacle was settled. And likewise other Persons, with their Permission, might dwell with them in the *Levitical* Cities, without any Violation of the Law of *Moses*. These Cities they enjoy'd by as full a Right as their Brethren of the other Tribes had in their Lands which fell to them by Lot; and therefore they had no Power to alienate either the Houses or Fields that belong'd to them. But if they sold a House, it was to revert at the Jubilee; and the Fields they could not so much as sell till that Time: For these Fields were not inclosed, that every Family might have its several Allotment; but they were common to the whole Body of the *Levites*, who would have been undone if they had wanted Pasture for their Flocks, which were all their Substance. Each of these Cities had a Suburb without the Walls, extending every way for the Space of a thousand Cubits. This was made use of to build Barns, Stables, Outhouses, Conveniencies for Hay and Straw, and other Accommodations, and perhaps for Gardens of Herbs and Flowers. The *Jews* say, that under the second Temple the *Levites* had no Suburbs,

urbs, which were not restored to them after the Captivity of *Babylon*; but there being care taken that the People should strictly pay their Tithes, it is unreasonable to suppose that there was no Provision made for Places to lay them up in. From the Outside of this Suburb there was a Territory of two thousand Cubits more, which was to be applied for Pasture for their Cattle. It was held unlawful to build Houses, or plant Vineyards, or sow Corn in these Fields. They were given them only to make their Dwellings more sweet, and that they might have the Convenience of Cattle about them for Provisions and other Uses. So that the whole Circuit of Ground round every City, which stood exactly in the midst, was in the whole three thousand Cubits; a thousand for the Suburbs, properly so called, and two thousand more for their Pasture, call'd properly *the Fields of the Suburbs*. The learned Dr. *Heylin*, who allow'd no more than two thousand Cubits for the whole Extent of the Suburbs round the *Levitical* Cities, remarks, that these Possessions in so small a Country as *Palestine*, was a greater Proportion than the Rents received by the Clergy of all the Bishoprick and Chapter Lands in the Realm of *England*. These forty eight Cities of the *Levites* were so many Universities, where the ministerial Tribe, distributed into Companies, studied the Law, being supported by the Tithes, and from thence were dispersed throughout the Nation, to educate Youth, and improve the People in Religion in the publick Synagogues. The Place of Burial to every one of these Cities was appointed without the Bounds of the utmost Suburbs, for within it was unlawful to bury the Dead, not so much to avoid Pollution, which might be contracted from a Sepulchre, but upon the account of the nice Construction forc'd by the *Scribes* upon the Law, which says, the Suburban Land of these Cities was given to the *Levites* for their Cattle and Oxen, and for all their *living Creatures*;

Chap. 13.

Lev. 25. 34.

Histor. Tracts, p. 167.

Book II. therefore, say they, not for the *Dead*, or for Places of Interment.

Six of these Cities were invested with peculiar Privileges, and were appointed for *Cities of Refuge*, whither the Manslayer, who killed a Person by chance, and without design, might fly, and find Security, till he was to be try'd by proper Judges. The *Rabbins* descant thus upon this Subject: *Moses* separated three Cities of Refuge beyond *Jordan*, and against them *Joshua* separated three Cities in the Land of *Canaan*, and these were placed by one another just as two Ranks of Vines are in a Vineyard; *Hebron*, in *Judea*, against *Bezer* in the Wilderness; *Shechem*, in Mount *Ephraim*, against *Ramoth* in *Gilead*; *Cadesh*, in Mount *Nephthali*, against *Golan* in *Basan*: And these three were so equally disposed, that there was so much Space from the South Coast of the Land of *Israel* to *Hebron*, as there was from *Hebron* to *Shechem*; and as much from *Hebron* to *Shechem*, as from *Shechem* to *Cadesh*; and as much from *Shechem* to *Cadesh*, as from *Cadesh* to the North Coast of the Land. All the Levitical Cities, say the *Hebrew* Doctors, were Cities of Refuge, but not equally with the six properly so called; for the six afforded Refuge to every Person who dwelt in them, whether he resorted thither for that Purpose or not; but the other Cities had not that Privilege. In the six the Manslayer was to have a House to live in for nothing; but in the other forty two he was to pay for it: And the *Levites* could not refuse to admit him into the six; but as for the rest, it was in their Choice whether they would receive him or no. The Benefit of this Protection was common to Strangers and *Sojourners* (for those so called had renounced Idolatry) as well as to native *Israelites*; but such as were mere *Gentiles*, and not so much as Proselytes of the Gate, if they killed another, tho' a *Gentile*, had not the Advantage of this Law; because they were not suffer'd to *dwell* in the Land of *Palestine*, tho' they traded in the Country. And

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if a Proselyte of the Gate killed an *Israelite*, or one that was circumcised, he also, if we may believe the *Jewish* Doctors, was denied Protection in these Cities; but if he killed a Proselyte of the Gate like himself, he was allowed the same Privilege as the *Hebrews* had. Chap. 13.

If a Person was killed wilfully, it was Murder, and the Guilty was to suffer Death. The Heir of him that was slain stood bound to avenge his Blood: He was not obliged to stay for the Sentence of the Court, but might kill the Murderer with his own Hand whersoever he met him. But if he refus'd, or was not able, or no such Avenger was to be found (that is, if the Murderer himself prov'd to be the next Heir, or the Man slain was a Proselyte of Justice without Issue) he was to be prosecuted and put to death by the Court of Judgment, and that by the Sword. But if the Matter proved to be accidental, and the Slaughter was casual, the Manslayer had the Privilege to fly instantly to one of these sacred Asylums, to secure himself from the violent Prosecution of the Avenger. And to give him all possible Advantage in his Flight, it was the Business of the *Sanhedrim* to make the Roads that led to those Cities convenient, by enlarging them, and removing every Obstruction that might hurt his Foot, or hinder his Speed. No Hillock or River was allowed, over which there was not a Bridge, and the Road was at least two and thirty Cubits broad. At every Turning there were Posts erected with this Inscription, *Refuge*, *Refuge*, to guide him in the Road; and two Students in the Law were appointed to accompany him, that if the Avenger (who was always the next Heir to him that was slain) should overtake him before he reach'd the City, they might endeavour to pacify him, and suspend his Revenge, till the Slayer was either condemned, or acquitted in a Court of Justice. A certain Day was set out, which was the fifteenth of *February*, for the repairing of the Highways and Bridges that had been broken down

Book II.

down by the Winter, Rains, or Floods. When the Slayer came to the City Gates, he was examin'd by proper Persons before his Admittance into the Place; but they were not Judges, nor could they examine Witnesses. If the Avenger pursued him so closely, that they had not time to examine the Matter at the Gate of the City, they were not to let him stand there, but to receive him in, and enquire into the Merits of his Case afterwards: Not that they were to pronounce a final Sentence, but to determine whether he deserved Protection till he was delivered up to the Senate or Court of Judgment in the City where the Fact was committed, who were to enquire and decide whether he were guilty of wilful Murder or not. If the Court found the Man was casually killed, as the Person accused pretended, the Avenger was charged to prosecute him no further, and he was sent back from the Place where he was tried, to the City where he had taken Refuge, there to remain till the Death of the High Priest. Here he had a convenient Habitation assigned him; and the Citizens, as the *Jews* say, were obliged to teach him some Trade, whereby he might support himself. And to render his Confinement more easy, the Mothers of the High Priests used to feed and clothe these unfortunate Fugitives, that they might not be impatient, and pray for the Death of their Sons, upon whose Decease they were all restored to Liberty. If the Slayer died in the City of Refuge before he was released, his Bones were to be deliver'd to his Relations after the Death of the High Priest, to be buried in the Sepulcher of his Fathers. If a Man killed the High Priest, or the High Priest himself happen'd to slay a Man involuntarily, they were to remain in the City of Refuge as long as they lived: Yet the *Hebrew* Doctors admit of this Temperament, that if one who had been High Priest, but removed from his Office, was alive when the Slaughter was committed, after his Death both the Person who killed the High Priest, and the High Priest himself

self thus under Protection, were set free from Confinement, and obtained their Liberty. Chap. 13.

No Person had the Benefit of Refuge but the ignorant and involuntary Manslayer: Nor was such a one obliged to fly, unless the Person died presently, and did not lie and languish of his Wound; for then his Death might possibly be imputed to some other Cause: In such a Case, the Man who wounded him had no occasion to fly, and the Avenger had no Commission to pursue him. The same was the Case of him whose Office it was to arrest Men by publick Authority, and bring them before the Judges, if he struck a Man that refused to obey his Writ, and accidentally killed him. The Benefit of this Protection was confined within the Limits of the City, and the surrounding Suburbs of three thousand Cubits. If the Manslayer was found beyond these Bounds, tho' he was free from the Punishment of the Law, and no Court of Justice could reach him; yet the Avenger, if he met him, might kill him without lying under the Guilt of a Murderer; because he did not act as a private Person, but executed a Sentence against him who was condemned by publick Authority, and had no Protection allowed him, if he went beyond the Bounds prescribed. But if the Avenger should kill him after the Decease of the High Priest, he was esteem'd a Murderer, and to be punished with Death. No Money or Interest could purchase the Liberty of the Manslayer before the time appointed. This Punishment of Manslaughter was as indispensable as Death for Murder; and therefore if any Man happened to kill another in the City of Refuge to which he was confined, he was obliged to fly to another City of Refuge, and there to continue till the High Priest died, and he was released by Law.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The Office of the Nethinims, *and the* Stationary Men.

AS the *Levites* were to assist the Priests in the Execution of their Office, so the *Nethinims* were Servants under them to hew Wood and to draw Water for the Altar, and the Use of the Sacrifices, and were a sort of Subdeacons in the *Jewish* Church. They were not originally of *Hebrew* Descent, but are supposed by learned Men to have been the Posterity of the *Gibeonites*, who, for their fraudulent Stratagem in imposing upon *Joshua* and the *Hebrew* Princes, were condemned to this Employment, which was a sort of honourable Servitude. They were addicted (says *Grotius*) to certain personal Servitude, whereas had they dealt plainly and openly with the *Israelites*, they might have been admitted only as Tributaries: Yet in this Service they discharg'd themselves with great Care and Fidelity to the Times of *Nehemiah*, who records, that great numbers of the *Nethinims* returned from *Babylon* to rebuild *Jerusalem* and the Temple. They were allowed to use no Trade or Occupation; nor could they, being Foreigners, have any Possession among the *Israelites*; nor were they allowed to marry a Woman of *Israel*. It is probable, that they were dispersed through the whole Country of *Palestine*, where the Priests and *Levites* were settled, and came and served with them in their Courses, and it is suppos'd were maintain'd out of the publick Stock, and the Profits of the Altar. When they were in waiting at the Temple, they lodged in the Tower of *Ophel*, or in a Street adjacent, because they might be near the East Gate of the Temple, which was the common and the magnificent Entrance into it. They could not

De Jure Bel. & Pac. cap. 13. sect. 4.

Ch. 7. v. 46.

not lodge within the Courts, because they were not of the *Levitical* Tribe; but they lived close by; and when their Week of Ministration was over, they returned to their Cities and Villages (of which they had many) in the Country, as the Priests and the *Levites* did. They obtained the Name of *Nethinims* from *Natan*, which signifies to give; and it is supposed they were first called so by *David*, because they were appointed or *given* by him for the Service of the Temple. Chap. 14.

As there were four and twenty Courses of the Priests, and as many of the Porters and Singers, so likewise were there four and twenty Courses of *Israelites of the Station.* This is a Title indeed unknown to the Scripture; yet the Office of these *Stationary Men* will appear evident, and necessary upon these two Considerations: First, it must be observed, that no Man's Sacrifice could be offer'd up, unless he himself were present at it, and stood by it. And hence it was, that tho' Women were at all other times forbidden to come into the Courts of *Israel*, yet when a Woman had a Sacrifice to be offer'd up, she was admitted into the Court; and there was a Necessity that she should be there; because whoever had a Burnt-Sacrifice to offer up, he was to bring it to the Sanctuary himself, and if it was a Bullock, or Lamb, he was to put his Hand upon the Head of it. The second Consideration is, that there were some Sacrifices, particularly the continual daily Sacrifice was the Offering of all *Israel*, or of the whole Congregation; and accordingly the Lambs for the daily Sacrifice, and other Sacrifices that were offered for the whole Nation, were provided at the publick Expence, out of the Treasury of the Temple: Now it was impossible that all the People of the *Jews* should be present at all the Sacrifices that were to be offer'd up for the *whole Congregation*; and therefore it was necessary that some Representatives should be elected, who, in the place of the People, should attend at all national Sacrifices. And because this Attendance

Book II. tendance would be continual, in regard to the daily Sacrifice, which was a Sacrifice of this nature; and consequently it would be a Hardship for any one Company of Men to be continually in waiting; therefore four and twenty Courses of these *Stationary Men* were appointed, that their Attendance in their several Changes might be the more easy. These Men of the *Station* were elected out of all *Israel*, and in the Choice great regard was had to their Honesty and good Life. Over every Course there was a President, who was distinguish'd by the Title of *President of the Station*.

These Men of the *Station* in every Course followed the same Method as the Priests and *Levites* did in their Courses. Those who lived in *Jerusalem*, and in the adjacent Places, when their Week of Duty came, attended in their Station: But such as lived remote, at an inconvenient Distance, assembled in their several Synagogues; and there they fasted and pray'd, and read a part of the Law; and by that means may be said to join in Service with, and for their Brethren of the Course that were attending at *Jerusalem*. They fasted upon the second, third, fourth, and fifth Days of that Week, and read over the History of the Creation in the Beginning of the Book of *Genesis*. They did not fast upon the first Day of the Week, because it was improper that the Austerity of a Fast should succeed the Joy of a *Sabbath*; and the last Day they thought equally unseasonable, because they would not preface the Delight of the *Sabbath* with a Fast neither. But the four Days between they used for that solemn Duty, to intercede for the Prosperity of their *Stationary* Brethren that were at *Jerusalem*, and of the Service they were concern'd in. The Attendance of these *Stationary Men* at the Temple was appointed for two Ends: The first was, that there should be always a representative Congregation of all the People present at the offering up of the daily Sacrifice, and at the

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Adminiſtration of the publick Ordinances and Service. The other part of their Employment, at leaſt of ſome of them, was to take care (as Repreſentatives of the People) that ſuch of them as had been under any legal Pollution, and being now cleanſed, came to the Temple to have their Atonement made, might be ſoon diſpatch'd, and not long detain'd before their Buſineſs was over. Theſe *Men of the Station*, in the Week of their Attendance, were not allowed to be trimmed by the Barber, nor to waſh their Clothes in all that time; becauſe theſe things were to be done before they enter'd upon their Courſe of Miniſtry.

CHAP. XV.

The Inſtitution of Prophets, *their* Schools *and* Seminaries, *and Methods of* Education. *Revelation by* Dreams, Viſions, *and immediate* Inſpirations. *Of* Bath Kol, *or the Daughter of a* Voice.

THE Prieſts and *Levites* were the ſtanding Miniſtry in the *Jewiſh* Church: But beſides theſe God was pleaſed to raiſe up extraordinary Perſons, to whom he revealed himſelf in a ſignal manner, and who were indued with many excellent Accompliſhments, particularly with a *prophetical* Spirit, that they might be the better qualified to inform the People of their Duties, to reprove them for their Sins, to prepare them for the Coming of the *Meſſiah*, and to foretel Events to come. The Neceſſity of this *prophetical* Office among the *Jews* is very pertinently ſet forth by *Origen*, in his Book againſt *Celſus*. When the Nations round about them had their Oracles, and ſeveral ways of Divination, all which were ſtrictly prohibited among the *Jews*; if the *Jews* had no way of foreknowing things

Contra Celſum, l. 1.

things to come, it had been almoſt impoſſible, conſidering the great Curioſity of humane Nature, to have kept them from deſpiſing the Law of *Moſes*, or apoſtatizing to the Heathen Oracles, or ſetting up ſomething like them among themſelves. From whence he argues, that there was a conſtant Succeſſion of *Prophets*, who ſucceeded *Moſes*, whom though they reſembled in Birth, Calling, and Doctrine, yet they fell ſhort of him in working Miracles and Wonders among the People; not but that there were Prophets in the Church from *Adam* to the Time of *Moſes*; yet the *Jews* obſerve they did not follow in a regular Succeſſion.

About the Time of *Samuel* there were Schools of the Prophets erected; and many think that he was the Author of them. They were Places of Education, where young Perſons, the moſt hopeful of the *Levites*, and the *Nazarites* out of other Tribes, were inſtructed in Religion and Piety, the better to prepare themſelves to receive the prophetical Spirit; not but that God ſometimes beſtow'd a Spirit of Prophecy upon Perſons who had not been educated in theſe Schools. The Occaſion of the Inſtitution aroſe from the Reſort which the People had to the *High-Places* for ſacrificing, during the Captivity, or uncertain Abode of the Ark of God, after the Deſolation of *Shiloh*. Now the People aſſembling at theſe Places to perform their Sacrifices, it was ſo order'd, that a Company of Prophets ſhould be there reſident to bleſs the Sacrifices, and to inſtruct the People. Over theſe little Univerſities, or Colleges of Students, there was ſome venerable Prophet as a Preſident, who was inſpired by the holy Spirit, and partook of divine Revelations. But the Scholars were not inſpired with the ſame prophetical Spirit, but received Propheſies from the Mouth of their Maſter. They were called *Sons of the Prophets*, to whom they miniſter'd, as the Evangeliſts did to the Apoſtles; they publiſh'd the Propheſies

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they receiv'd to the People, when their Masters (whom they called *Fathers*) were otherwise employ'd. By them they were instructed in the *Mosaick* Law. In the Schools they sate below at their Master's Feet, and the Master above over their Heads when he taught them. Chap. 19.

The principal of these *Academies* in the Kingdom of *Israel* were at *Bethel*, *Jericho*, and *Gilgal*; and by the Prophets in these Schools was the Purity of Religion preserv'd among the ten Tribes, after the Defection, in the Time of *Jeroboam*; for the People resorted to them upon the solemn Festivals, when they were instructed, and had Lectures upon the Law read to them.

In *Judah* likewise there were some of these Schools; particularly at *Jerusalem* there was a College within the second Wall of the City: And so great Regard was paid to the prophetical Character, that none were suffer'd to be buried within *Jerusalem*, but Kings of the Family of *David*, and Prophets. Out of these Seminaries it was God's ordinary Method to call Students, whom he design'd to employ in the prophetical Office; and though their Educations in those Schools could not concur, by way of Efficiency, to produce in them a Spirit of Prophecy, yet their Institution in these Nurseries tended to improve their natural Faculties, and to subdue all irregular Motions in their Souls; for nothing could be a greater Objection against divine Inspiration, than if the Person who pretended to it were of very weak and shallow Intellectuals, or known to be of an irregular Conversation. In these Schools, therefore, their Understanding and natural Abilities were advanc'd, they were brought up in spiritual Exercises, and instructed in the Sense of the Law, and in the solemn Celebration of divine Praises. And that the Minds of the Prophets might be the better disposed to receive the divine Impulse, they used the Assistance of Instrumental Musick in their Devotions; for Musick admirably allays the Passions, and fits

Book II. the Soul for the better Entertainment of the divine Spirit. And at ſome of theſe Muſick-meetings there have been Perſons who have had their Spirits ſo elated by the Force of Muſick, that they have compoſed Hymns upon the Place, by a divine Energy inwardly moving their Minds, and tranſporting them beyond the ordinary Power of Imagination and Fancy. The compoſing and ſinging of theſe divine Hymns is called *Prophecying*; but in what manner this Office was perform'd is not ſo eaſy to define or ſpecify (ſays Mr. *Mede*) who ſuppoſes that there was a *Præcentor* to uſher in the Verſe or Ditty, and the reſt anſwer'd the Extremes, or laſt Words of the Verſe.

1 Sam. 10. 12.

Book I. Diſcourſe 16.

It is not certain what Right of Initiation was uſed when a Prophet firſt enter'd upon his Office. Some ſuppoſe that he was anointed with holy Oil, in the ſame manner with Kings and Prieſts. But this Opinion is exploded by others, who ſay that there were Prophets among the *Hebrews* before the Holy Oil was made, and likewiſe after it ceaſed; and therefore they allow no other Ceremony of Inauguration but clothing with a *prophetical* Mantle, which was an upper Garment made of Lambs Skin, thrown over the Shoulders, and, ſome think, coming down to the Heels. They likewiſe wore *Hair-cloth* next their Skin, tied about with a leathern Girdle.

The frequent and ſtanding Method, whereby God was pleaſed to tranſact with the Prophets, and in extraordinary Caſes with other Men, was either by *Dreams*, *Viſions*, or immediate *Inſpirations*. The way by *Dreams* was, when the Perſon being overtaken with a deep Sleep, and all the outward Senſes locked up, God preſented the Species and Images of things to their Underſtanding, and in ſuch a manner that they might be able to apprehend the divine Will, which they preſently did upon their awaking. Theſe divine Dreams the *Jews* diſtinguiſh into two Sorts; *Monitory*, ſuch as were ſent only by way of Inſtruction or Admo-

 nition,

nition, to give Men notice what they were to do, or warning what they were to avoid: Or they were *Prophetical*, when God by such a powerful Energy acted upon the Mind and Imagination of the Prophet, as carried the Strength and Force of a divine Evidence along with it. This was sometimes done by a clear and distinct Impression of the thing upon the Mind, without any dark or enigmatical Representation of it, and sometimes by Apparition, yet so as the Man, though asleep, was able to discern an Angel conversing with him. Chap. 15.

When God communicated himself by *Vision*, it was usually done two ways: First, when something really appeared to the Sight. Thus *Moses* beheld the Bush burning, and stood there while God conversed with him. Or, secondly, by powerful Impressions upon the Imagination, usually done while the Prophet was awake, and had the free and uninterrupted Exercise of his Reason, tho' the Vision often overpower'd and cast him into a Trance, that the Soul, being more retired from sensible Objects, might the closer attend those divine Notices that were represented to it. Thus all the Prophets had the Ideas of those things that they were to deliver to the People the more strongly impress'd upon their Fancies, and this commonly when they were in the greatest Solitude and Privacy, and their Powers most call'd in, that the prophetical Influx might have the greater Force upon them.

God was pleas'd sometimes to communicate his Mind to the Prophets by immediate *Inspirations*, whereby he immediately transacted with the Understandings, without any relation to their Fancy or their Senses. It was the most pacate and serene way of Prophecy, God imparting his Mind not by Dreams or Visions, but while they were awake, their Powers active, and their Minds undisturb'd. This the *Jews* call the *Holy Spirit*, or that kind of Revelation which was directly convey'd into the Mind by the most efficacious

cacious Irradiation and Inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, God by theſe divine Illapſes enabling the Prophet clearly and immediately to apprehend the Matters deliver'd to him. The higheſt Pitch of this prophetical Revelation was what the *Jews* call the *Moſaick Degree*, or that way of Prophecy which God uſed towards *Moſes*, who was honour'd with a mighty Preheminence above all other Prophets; which the *Jewiſh* Writers make to conſiſt in four things: The firſt, that in all God's Communications to *Moſes* he immediately ſpake to his Underſtanding, without any Impreſſions upon Fancy, any viſible Appearances, any Dreams or Viſions of the Night. The ſecond, that *Moſes* had the Prophecies convey'd to him without any Fears or Conſternations, whereas the other Prophets were aſtoniſh'd and weaken'd at the Sight of God. The third, that *Moſes* had no previous Diſpoſitions to make him capable of divine Revelations, but could directly go to God and conſult him, as a Man ſpeaks with his Friend; other Prophets being forc'd, many times, by ſome preparatory Arts, to invite the prophetick Spirit to come upon them. The fourth, that *Moſes* had a Freedom and Liberty of Spirit to prophecy at all times, and could when he pleaſed have recourſe to the ſacred Oracle. But as to this the Scripture intimates no ſuch thing, the Spirit of Prophecy retiring from him at ſome times, as well as from the reſt of the Prophets: And indeed the prophetical Spirit did not reſide in the holy Men by way of Habit, but occaſionally, as God ſaw it proper to confer it upon them. It was not in them as Light is in the Sun, but as Light in the Air; and conſequently depended upon the immediate Irradiations of the Spirit of God.

Theſe divine Communications were ſo convey'd to the Minds of the Prophets, that they always knew them to be divine Revelations; ſo mighty and perſpicuous was the Evidence that came along with them, that there could be no doubt

doubt but they were the Birth of Heaven. It is true, when the prophetick Spirit seiz'd upon wicked Men, they understood not its Effect upon them, nor were in the least improv'd by it: The Revelation passed thro' them as a Sound through a Trunk, or Water through a leaden Pipe, without any particular and distinct Apprehension of the Thing, or useful Impression made upon their Minds. This was the Case of *Caiaphas* and *Balaam*; of which last the *Jews* say expressly, that he prophesied according to the Will of God, but understood not what he prophesied. The Prophets of God, when they were inspired, were not carried out into furious Transports of Rage and Madness, though the Impulse might oftentimes be very strong and violent: They were often in a bodily Ecstasy, but never in an Ecstasy of Mind; their Reason and Understanding never being render'd useless and unserviceable to them. Indeed it was absolutely necessary that the Prophet should have a full Satisfaction of Mind concerning the Truth and Divinity of his Message; and therefore even in those Methods that were most liable to Doubts and Questions, such as Communications by Dreams, we cannot think but that the same Spirit that moved and impressed the Thing upon them, did also, by some secret and inward Operation, settle the Mind in the firmest Belief and Persuasion of what was revealed and suggested to it. All these Ways of immediate Revelation ceased some hundreds of Years before the final Period of the *Jewish* Church, after it had continued among Men, and sometimes Women, from the Beginning of the World. The *Jews* allow that there was no Prophet in the second Temple. But this is not true; for the Prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, lived after the second Temple, and prophesied under it. However, at the Death of *Malachi*, the last of that Order, the Spirit of Prophesy ceased: After him there arose no Prophet in *Israel*, who is therefore called by the *Jews* the *Seal of the Prophets*. Chap. 15.

Book II.

To supply this want of Revelation by Prophecy, the *Jews* made use of a vile Refuge, and invented what they called *Bath Kol*, which they say was a *Voice* from Heaven. They gave it the Name of *Bath Kol*, that is, the *Daughter Voice*, or the *Daughter of a Voice* (for it may be interpreted both ways) because it succeeded, they say, in the Place of the *Oracular Voice* deliver'd from the Mercy-Seat, when God was there consulted by *Urim* and *Thummim*. That was the grand and primary Voice of Revelation, this of a secondary Dignity, and inferior to it as the Daughter is to the Mother; and therefore in respect to it, and as coming in its stead, it is called the *Daughter Voice*, the other being to it as the Mother, in Precedence both of Time and Dignity. There is also another Reason given for this Name, which is, that it came out of *Thunder*; that the Thunder-Clap always went first, and then the *Bath Kol* issued out: and therefore the Thunder was as the Mother Voice, and *Bath Kol* as the Daughter coming out of it. But this cannot be true; for most of the Instances which the *Jewish* Writers give us of this *Bath Kol*, are without any Thunder preceding. That it may be understood what kind of Oracle this was, I shall give one Instance of it out of the *Talmud*.

In Shabbath, fol. 8. col. 3.

Rabbi Jochanan and *Rabbi Simeon ben Lachish*, desiring to see the Face of *R. Samuel*, a *Babylonish* Doctor, Let us follow, said they, the hearing of *Bath Kol*: Travelling therefore near a School, they heard the Voice of a Boy reading these

Ch. 25. ver. 1.

Words out of the first Book of *Samuel*, *And* Samuel *died*. They observ'd this, and inferr'd from hence that their Friend *Samuel* was dead; and so they found it happen'd, for *Samuel* of *Babylon* was then dead. Many more Instances of this sort might be produc'd out of the *Jewish* Writings; but from this it may be argued, that their *Bath Kol* was no such Voice from Heaven as they pretend, but only a phantastical way of Divination of their own Invention, like the *Sortes Virgilianæ* among the Heathens: For as with them the

Words

Words first dipt at in the Book of the Poet, was the Oracle whereby they prognosticated those future Events which they desired to be informed of; so with the *Jews*, when they appeal'd to *Bath Kol*, the next Words which they should hear from any ones Mouth were the same. And this they call'd a *Voice from Heaven*; because thereby they thought the Judgment of Heaven to be declared as to any dubious Point they desired to know, and the Decrees of Heaven to be reveal'd concerning the future Success of any Matter which they would be pre-informed of, whensoever in either of these two Cases they this way consulted it. The *Sortes Virgilianæ*, on the failing of *Oracles*, were made use of by the Heathens in the place of them, as long as Paganism remain'd among the *Romans*; and the Christians, when Christianity first began to be corrupted, learnt from them the like way of Divination, and much practised it, without any other Change, than by putting the Book of the Holy Scriptures in the place of the Book of the Heathen Poet.

CHAP. XVI.

The Tryal and Punishment of False Prophets.

THE prophetick Spirit being so common among the *Hebrews*, it was necessary there should be a Method of Tryal established, to prevent Impostors, and to discern the false Prophet from the true: For it could not be expected, but in a Nation where there was such a number of Prophets, many Pretenders would arise, who would endanger the Faith of the People, unless there were some certain way to find them out. The more effectually therefore to deter Men either from counterfeiting a Prophetick Spirit, or to hearken to them that did, God appointed

Book II. pointed a ſevere Puniſhment for every ſuch Pretender, who, upon legal Conviction, was to be puniſh'd
Deut. 18. 20. with Death. The *Jews* generally underſtand this of Strangling; as they do always in the Law, when the particular Manner of Death is not expreſs'd. And in that a falſe Prophet and a *Seducer* were diſtinguiſh'd from each other, that a Seducer was to be ſtoned to Death, under ſufficient Teſtimo-
Deut. 13. 6. ny; but the falſe Prophet is condemned only to be put to Death. The principal Difference between the Seducer and falſe Prophet was, that the Seducer attempted by cunning Perſuaſions, and plauſible Arguments, to draw the People off from the Worſhip of the true God; but the falſe Prophet always pretended Divine Revelation for what he perſuaded them to, whether he gave out that he had the Revelation from the true God, or from Idols and falſe Gods: So that the mere Pretence to Divine Revelation was that which God would have puniſh'd with ſo great Severity. The *Jews* tell us of three ſorts of falſe Prophets who were to be puniſh'd with Death by Men, and three other ſorts who were reſerved to divine Puniſhment. Of the firſt Rank were theſe: Firſt, He that propheſied that which he had not heard; and for this they inſtance in *Zedekiah* the Son of *Chenaanah*, who made him Horns of Iron, and ſaid,
1 Kings 22 11. *Thus ſaith the Lord*: This was the *Lying Prophet*. The ſecond, He that ſpeaks that which was revealed not to him, but to another; and for this
Jerem. 28. 11. they produce *Hananiah* the Son of *Azur* (but how truly I ſhall not determine:) This was the *Plagiary* Prophet. The third, He that propheſied in the Name of an Idol, as the Prophets of *Baal* did: This was the *Idol* Prophet. Theſe three, when once fully convicted, were to be put to Death by the Hand of Men. The other Claſs of thoſe that were to be puniſh'd by the Hand of Heaven, conſiſted of theſe: The firſt, He that ſtifles and ſmothers his own Propheſy, as *Jonah* did: By which it ſeems that when the Divine Spirit overſhadow'd the Underſtandings of the Prophets, it offer'd no

Violence

Violence to their Faculties, but left them to the free Determination of their own Wills in the Execution of their Office. But this must be understood of a lower Degree of Prophecy; for at some times their Prophecies were as *Fire in their Bones*; they were never at any Rest till they had discharg'd their Commission. By this Example of *Jonah*, it is observ'd, that tho' the Spirit of Prophecy, like the Fire on the Altar, could only be kindled from Heaven; yet it might be destroy'd when it was not maintained with something to feed upon: Or when it met not with suitable Entertainment from the Spirits of those it fell upon, it might retreat back again to Heaven, or at least lie hid in the Embers, till a new Blast from the Spirit of God retriev'd it into its former Heat and Activity. The second, He that despised the Words of a true Prophet, was likewise to be destroy'd from among his People by the Hand of Heaven. The last that was liable to be cut off, was the Prophet who hearkned not to the Words of his own Prophecy; which was the Case of the Prophet sent to *Bethel*, whom God slew in an unusual manner, for not observing the Command which he had given him.

Chap. 16.

Jerem. 20 9.

1 Kings 13. 9.

It is the receiv'd Opinion among the *Jewish* Doctors, that the Cognizance and Tryal of false Prophets peculiarly belonged to the great *Sanhedrim*, and that this was one End of its Institution. So *Maimonides*, after he had largely discourse upon the Punishment of a Seducer, and speaking of that of a false Prophet, he lays this down as a standing Rule among them: No false Prophet was to be judg'd but in the Court of Seventy one. The manner of Tryal (if we believe some of their Writers) was thus: They observ'd the Judgments threatned by a Prophet, and likewise the good Things he predicted. If the Judgments took not effect, this did not prove him to be a false Prophet, because God was merciful, as in the Case of *Hezekiah*; and the People might repent, as the *Ninevites* did; but if he propheſied Good, and that came

De Idol. c. 5. sect. 11.

Book II. Ch. 28. 9.

came not to pass, he was condemned as a Deceiver and a false Prophet. The Reason of this Probation they found upon the Words of *Jeremiah*: *The Prophet which prophesied of Peace, when the Word of the Prophet shall come to pass, then shall the Prophet be known that truly the Lord hath sent him.* But this does not give us the true Difference; for the Promises, as well as the Threatnings of God, are many times conditional; so that the good Things a Prophet foretold might not come to pass, and yet he might be a true Prophet, because the People proved unworthy of them, and God did not absolutely intend them. Therefore the Test in the Business of Prophecy seems rather to be this; that if a Prophet foretold such a thing which the Power of Nature could not produce, and gave it as a Sign that God sent him, who would justify his Mission by doing that Wonder, and the Thing did not come to pass, he was to be look'd upon as not a Man of God, or a true Prophet: As *Moses*, who threw his Rod upon the Ground, and said it should become a Serpent, if it had not, would justly have been convicted of Falsity. If the Words of a Prophet were fulfilled in one or more Particulars, he was not to be judg'd a true Prophet, unless every thing he spake in the Name of God came to pass. And when once he was convicted of Imposture, and of pretending a divine Commission, when God had not sent him, no Character or Interest was powerful enough to secure him from Punishment; for to be afraid of such a Person, and those who encouraged him, was esteem'd a Distrust of God, who is always a Defender of those who defend the Cause of Religion.

Jerem. 18. 7, & 9.

Selden de Synedr. lib. 3. cap. 5.

To the Rule before-mention'd the *Jews* make this Addition, that a Prophet, who had the Testimony of another undoubted Prophet, was to be esteem'd a true Prophet: And if he was a Man of eminent Virtue and upright Life, he had a Power to dispense with the Observation of some Precepts that were positively enjoined by the *Mo-*

saick

faick Law. Such a one was *Elijah*, who commanded an Altar to be built upon Mount *Carmel*, when Sacrifices upon High Places were forbidden. But there was a Neceſſity for it (ſays *R. Solomon*) that he might reſtore the true Worſhip of God in *Iſrael*. There is one Obſervation of the *Rabbins* not to be forgotten upon this Subject: That every Prophet, whoſe Name and his Father's Name is ſet down in his Prophecy, was a Prophet, and the Son of a Prophet: He whoſe Name, and not his Father's Name, is expreſs'd, it is certain was a Prophet, but not the Son of a Prophet: He whoſe Name, and the Name of his City, is mentioned, was certainly of that City: He whoſe Name is ſet down, and not the Name of his City, was a Prophet of *Jeruſalem*: And he whoſe Father's, and Father's Father's Name is expreſs'd in his Prophecy, was a Perſon of higher Rank and Deſcent, than he whoſe Father's Name only is ſet down. Chap. 16. Kimc. Preſ. ad min. Proph.

CHAP. XVII.

Impoſtors *among the* Hebrews; *Offerers of Children to* Moloch.

THE Tryal of Prophets preſcrib'd by the *Moſaick* Law, was deſign'd to prevent all Occaſions of conſulting Impoſtors, who might pretend to a prophetick Spirit, and ſeduce the People into Idolatry. There were many ſorts of theſe unlawful Practitioners in the Times of *Moſes*, who uſed Diabolick Arts among the Heathens, and are diſtinguiſh'd in Scripture by theſe Names; one *that makes his Son or his Daughter to paſs through the Fire to* Moloch, a *Diviner*, an *Obſerver of Times*, an *Inchanter*, a *Witch*, a *Charmer*, *a Conſulter with Familiar Spirits*, a *Wizard*, and a *Necromancer*. Deut. 18. 10, 11.

The

Book II.

The Oblation of Children to *Moloch* being frequently mentioned, together with other diabolical and divinatory Arts, there is great reason to believe that there was something *magical* in this superstitious Right; and thereby they consulted with Dæmons about things future or secret. *Moloch*, it is certain, was the principal Idol of the *Ammonites*; but yet not so appropriated to them, but that other neighbouring Nations took the same for their God; for it appears from the Pagan Records, that they were very friendly in that Point, and frequently lent their Gods to one another. This Deity seems to have been the same with *Baal*, both of them signifying *Dominion*; but more especially it signifies the Sun, the Prince of the heavenly Bodies. It is plain from several Passiges in Scripture, that the old Heathens (whom the *Israelites* were prone to imitate) not only made their Children pass through the Fire, but also offer'd them in Sacrifice unto this Idol. Both these impious Rights were forbidden by the *Mosaick* Law; the first without any Penalty annex'd, the last was to be punish'd with Death. The Ceremony of passing through the Fire was used by way of Lustration and Purification, as they called it; and by this Ceremony the Children were dedicated to the Service of this Pagan God. And therefore, it being a Right of Initiation, we never find it mentioned in Scripture, but only with relation to Children, whom the *Hebrews* were forbidden to devote in this manner, which was in effect to alienate them from the Service of the true God. The *Hebrews*, from whom we might expect some Certainty about this savage Right of passing through the Fire, do not agree in their Opinions concerning it. Some imagine that the Parents carried their Children through the Fires upon their Shoulders; others that they were led between them by their Priests. The Father (as a *Jewish* Doctor observes) deliver'd the Child to the Priest in the Name of the Idol, just as it is said concerning legal Sacrifices, he

Deut. 18. 10, 11.
2 Kings 17. 17, 21, 6.

he shall give them to the Priest. Others think that the Priest, or some body else, wav'd the Child about in the very Flame, while Men and Women danc'd round the Fire, or leaped through the Flame. And others again suppose, that the Children dedicated to the Idol did not walk, but dance through the Fire; which being an Emblem and Representation of the Sun, plainly signified that such Children were consecrated to that Deity. And this comes nearer the *Hebrew* Phrase as we translate it, that they did not pass *between* Fires, but *through* the Fire. But which way soever this Ceremony was perform'd, whether they wav'd the Child through the very Fire, and presented it to *Moloch*, before whom the Fire was kindled, or led it between two Fires, or made it pass through by itself, when they had so done, the Priest restor'd the Child to the Father again. And in some such way *Ahaz* (who perhaps introduced this Idolatry among the *Hebrews*) made his Son to pass through the Fire, which cannot be meant of his burning him; for *Hezekiah* his Son outlived him, and succeeded in his Throne. Chap. 17.

But besides the Idolatry of making their Children pass through the Fire, it was a cruel Superstition in the Days of *Moses* to offer humane Victims, especially Children, as Sacrifices to the Idol *Moloch*, and probably to *divine* by inspecting the Intrails. Certain it is that Children were really burnt upon the *Gentile* Altars, especially in times of publick Calamity and Distress, when they hoped to appease the Anger of their enraged Deities, by offering to them the dearest Things they had. The *Phœnicians* offer'd their Children to *Saturn*, who is said by the Poets to have devour'd his own Children, and by many is thought to be the same with *Moloch*. And this horrid Usage of sacrificing may be derived by wicked Imitation from *Abraham*'s offering up his Son. To this purpose there is a Passage out of *Philo* concerning the History of the *Phœnicians*: *Saturn*, whom the *Phœnicians* call *Israel*, having govern'd that

Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 16.

Book II. that Country after his Death, was made the Star called *Saturn:* Of his Wife *Anobret* he had one only begotten Son, whom therefore they called *Jeoud*, that being the Term for an only begotten Son amongſt the *Phœnicians* to this Day. Upon the breaking in of a very deſtructive War upon the Country, he takes his Son, and having decently adorn'd him, and prepar'd an Altar for him, ſacrificed him upon it. The Image of *Saturn* bore a near Reſemblance to that of *Moloch*. *Saturn*, the Idol of *Carthage*, is thus deſcribed: It was made of Braſs, wonderful for its Greatneſs, whoſe Hands, extending towards the Earth, were ſo hollow (ready to graſp) that the Child that was put into them fell, as it were, into a mighty Gulph of Fire. The ſame Deſcription, in a manner, agrees with the Idol *Moloch*, and the Idolatry of his Votaries. Our Rabbins (ſays a *Jewiſh* Commentator) of happy Memory, ſay, although all Houſes of Idolatry were in *Jeruſalem*, *Moloch* was without, and the Image was made hollow, placed within ſeven Chappels (according to the Number, I ſuppoſe, of the ſeven Planets.) Now whoſoever offer'd Flower, they open'd to him the firſt of them; whoſo offer'd Turtles or Pidgeons, they opened to him the ſecond; whoſo offer'd a Lamb, they open'd to him the third; whoſo offer'd a Ram, they open'd to him the fourth; whoſo offer'd a Calf, they open'd to him the fifth; whoſo offer'd an Ox, they open'd to him the ſixth; but whoſo offer'd his Son, they open'd to him the ſeventh. Now his Face was like a Calf, and his Hands were ſtretched out as a Man's that reacheth out to receive ſomething from his Neighbour; and they ſet him over the Fire, and the Prieſt took the Child and put him between the Arms of the Idol, and there the Child gave up the Ghoſt. He was made of Braſs (ſays another Writer) and was heated with Fire under, till he was glowing hot; and then the Prieſts put the Child into his Arms, and there he was burnt: And the Prieſts made a Noiſe in the mean time with

Kimchi in 2 Kings 23. 10.

R. Sol. in Jer. 7. 31.

with Drums, that the Father might not hear the Child's Cry; and therefore the Place was called *Tophet*, from *Toph*, a *Drum*, or *Taber*, from the Cry of the Children. The Place was likewise called *Gehenna*, which signifies the Valley of Crying. *Oecumenius* is of opinion, that the Star of *Remphan*, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, was a certain Star painted in the Forehead of the Idol *Moloch*. Chap. 17. Acts 7. 43.

There is no Punishment threatned by the Law of *Moses* to those who made their Children pass through the Fire; but it was capital to sacrifice any of humane Seed to *Moloch*, and to be punish'd with Death by stoning. If there was not sufficient Proof against the Votary to convict him, God resolv'd that he would himself take care to punish him by an utter Excision both of Soul and Body: And as the Idolater was liable to be punish'd in this manner, so they who favour'd him, and would not testify against him when they knew him guilty, fell under God's high Displeasure, who threatned to cut them off and their Posterity.

Another sort of Worship was exhibited to this Idol, called the *Taking up of the Tabernacle of* Moloch; which was done by carrying the Image up and down in Tabernacles and Pageants, after a solemn manner of Procession. This kind of Idolatry, perhaps, had its Original from an unwarrantable Imitation of *Moses*'s Tabernacle, which was nothing but a portable Tent, to be carry'd from Place to Place as Occasion requir'd. There were Chariots and Horses likewise consecrated to this Idol; but it is uncertain whether these Creatures were kept to be sacrificed, or to be led in Pomp (as some of the *Jews* speak) every Morning to meet the rising Sun. Or, as others take it, the Worshipers of the Sun got upon these Horses early in the Morning, and rode out to salute the Sun at its first appearing. Some Authors imagine that these Chariots and Horses were only Statues Hyde de Relig. vet. Pers. p 117.

Book II. Statues made of some Metal, and that the Beasts were represented in the Shape of Griffins.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Diviner, *an* Observer of Times, *an* Inchanter, *a* Witch, *a* Charmer, *a* Consulter with Familiar Spirits, *a* Wizard, *and a* Necromancer.

A *Diviner* may be supposed to denote not only the Person who exercised the divinatory Art, but those who consulted him and applied to him; for, after the Pagan Mode, they used to repair to such on urgent Occasions, to know what should befal them, or how they should act in particular Emergencies. This is always represented in the Holy Writ as a very scandalous and detestable Employment; and not without reason, for it was corresponding with the Devil. There were various Methods of Divination made use of among the *Eastern* Nations, and it is difficult to find out what kinds were in use and forbidden by *Moses*; but the best Commentators agree, that he had regard to some of these following Customs.

Gen. 44. 5. It is probable, that in the Days of *Joseph* there was a Divination by *Cups (Is not this the* Cup *whereby indeed he* divineth?) though we know not now what it was. It is certain there was such a Practice among the *Greeks*, who borrow'd much of their Religion from the *Egyptians*; particularly their observing the sparkling of the Wine in their Libations. It was usual for the Heathens to divine by raking into the Bowels of their Sacrifices, particularly of humane Victims; and they often offer'd young Children, on purpose that thereby they might make their Auguries, and predict things to come. Another Practice was to divine by casting or drawing of Lots; which

which sort of Divination was much in use among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and had been so, it is likely, in more ancient Times among the Eastern Nations. Some of the Heathens, particularly the ancient *Arabians*, divined by Arrows. Whether this Art was used in the Time of *Moses* is uncertain; but such kind of Divination was in use among the Eastern People in the Days of *Ezekiel*, and, as many Christian Fathers observe, was practised by the *Jews*. The Words of the Prophet to this purpose are these: *The King of* Babylon *stood at the parting of the Way, at the Head of the two Ways, to use Divination: He made his* Arrows *bright*. The Meaning seems to be this, that *Nebuchadnezzar* came to a Place where two Ways met, one led to the City *Rabbath*, and the other to *Jerusalem*. Now to determine which City he should first assault, he had recourse to this Method: He wrote the Names of the two Cities upon several Arrows, which were mixed together promiscuously in a Quiver; and a Boy, who was unacquainted with the Matter, drew out one, and the Name of *Jerusalem* being upon it, the King was determin'd to lead his Army towards that City. Others deliver the manner of this Consultation to have been thus: The Consulter measured his Staff by Spans, or by the Length of his Finger; saying, as he measured, I will go, I will not go; I will do such a thing, I will not do it; and as the last Span fell out, so he determined. This Custom seems to be refer'd to by the Prophet *Hosea*, where he says, *My People ask counsel of their Stocks, and their* Staff *declareth unto them.*

Chap. 18.

Ezek. 21. 21.

Drus. in Deut. 18.

Hieron Cyril. in Os. 4. 12.

The Prophet *Ezekiel*, in the same Verse, mentions two other kinds of Divination, which he calls to consult with *Images*, or with *Teraphim*, as it is in the *Hebrew*, and to look on the *Liver*. The *Teraphim*, it is generally believed, were a kind of *Penates*, as the *Romans* called them, or Household Gods. But it is disputed among the *Hebrew* Doctors, whether in ancient Times they were worship'd as Gods, or used only as Instruments

Book II.

ments of Divination; though moſt of them take them to have been Figures in humane Shape, made by Aſtrologers under certain Conſtellations, and made capable of the heavenly Influences; and that they were the ſame with the *Arabian Taliſmans* in after Times. But the moſt probable Conjecture is, that they were the Repreſentations of ſome Angelical Powers, (*Teraphim* and *Seraphim* being the ſame, only by the Change of a Letter) who, they imagined, declar'd the Mind of God by them: For in thoſe Countries, where the *Shechinah*, or Preſence of the divine Majeſty, did not appear, they had at leaſt ſome Tradition of it, and of the Angels that were its Attendants, the Reſemblance of which they made, in hope that by that means they might have a Communication with them, and procure Intelligence from Heaven. Of this the evil Spirits made their Advantage, and abuſed Mankind by the lying Anſwers they gave to their Inquiries; for there is no reaſon to believe that God allowed, much leſs appointed the making of theſe *Teraphim*. This had been to lead Men into Idolatry by Image Worſhip, to which they were too prone of themſelves. The manner how theſe Images were made is fondly conceived thus among the Rabbis: They killed a Man that was a firſt-born Son, and wrung off his Head, and ſeaſoned it with Salt and Spices, and wrote upon a Plate of Gold the Name of an unclean Spirit, and put it under the Head upon a Wall, and lighted Candles before it, and worſhiped it. The uſe of them was to conſult with them, as with Oracles, concerning things for the preſent unknown, or for the future to come.

To divine by the Intrails of Beaſts was a Practice generally received among the Heathens; and becauſe the *Liver* was the principal Member inſpected, it was called *Conſultation with the Liver*. In this kind of Divination there was chiefly obſerved the Colour of the Intrails; their Place, whether none were diſplaced; and the Number, whether none were wanting; and the

want

want of the *Liver* was always understood to presage the greatest Misfortunes. Chap. 18.

An *Observer of Times* was one that used the Art of magical Prognosticators and Soothsayers, who lay a mighty Stress on some certain Seasons and critical Minutes, which they fancy depend on a particular Position of the heavenly Bodies; for the *Gentile* Idolaters had a Custom to predict future Events, not only by viewing the Skies and Clouds, but chiefly by making the Position and Aspect of the Luminaries of Heaven; and upon consulting of these, it was their frequent Practice to enter upon some magical Operations. It was the Opinion of a learned Rabbi, that most of such kind of Feats of old were effected by Virtue of the Stars, both fixed and planetary; and that those celestial Bodies were thought to recompence their Votaries with Success in their magical Undertakings: And, in way of Return, these Operators shew'd great Reverence to the Stars, and constantly implor'd their Aid and Assistance: And therefore this he calls the *worshipping of the Stars.* These Persons pretended to read the Fates of Men and Nations in the Lights above: More especially, by virtue of their Skill in that kind, they were able to observe *Times*, to judge of Days, whether they were good or ill, lucky or unlucky (as they thought fit to term them) for they made the World believe that certain Days and Times were more than ordinarily subject to the Influence of such and such Stars. It seems the *Philistines* were noted for this sort of Imposture, and are therefore stiled *Observers of Times*; for that is the proper Import of the Word; but *Soothsayers* (which our Translators use) is too general a Term. The same *Hebrew* Writer takes notice, that Jugglers, who delude the Sight in playing their Tricks, and seem to perform wonderful things, as vomiting Fire, and transforming Straws into Birds, whether they do it by Slight of Hand, or by other means, are comprehended under the Name of an *Observer of Times.* And there are

Maim. More. Nevoch. p. 1. c. 37.

Isai. 2. 6.

Book II. others also who think it includes such as pretended to tell Fortunes.

An *Inchanter* made Omens, and guessed what should happen by some superstitious Observation. But what that was is not so easy to determine: Those who follow the Seventy, and the vulgar *Latin*, take him for a Diviner, by the flying, feeding, chirping, and other Actions and Postures of Birds, and from thence presaging and foretelling things to come. But the Word in the Original signifying a *Serpent*, and having no relation at all to Birds, it seems rather to relate to the ancient Divination by Serpents. This Practice was much in use among the old *Gentiles*, as appears by *Homer*, who introduces *Chalcas* seeing a Serpent devouring eight Sparrows with their Dam, and from thence divining how long the *Trojan* War would last: Not but that sometimes the Term is used in a larger Sense, and signifies one that fondly pretends to guess at Futurities by other Accidents; as from the falling of a Crumb of Bread out of one's Mouth, or a Staff out of one's Hand, from Men's sneezing, or the breaking of a Shoe-latchet. And the excellent *Maimonides* interprets it of ominous Accidents, (as they were by the Superstitious reputed) such as the Chattering of a Crow, the Fall of Salt, the being cross'd on the way by a Hare, or some other Animal. Other judicious Expositors understand it of Lots, and thereby enquiring when it is safe to take a Journey, to marry a Wife, or to undertake any other Business of Importance. It being hard to judge among such Variety of Opinions, the Learned are left to determine for themselves.

Iliad. 7.

A *Witch* was a Person (and generally a Woman) addicted to Magick and evil Arts, by which she had Power to do Mischief to Men or Beasts, and to change the Form of things, by making them appear otherwise than they are. This sort of magical Operation was very usual among the Pagans; whence there was a Law among the old *Romans*,

Senec. Nat. Quest. l. 4 c. 7

mans, and inserted into their twelve Tables, against this hurtful and malicious Fascination; and particularly that whereby the Fruits of the Ground were endamaged. Among other Practices, these Witches used their wicked Skill to allure silly Maids to consent to Mens Sollicitations; and therefore the Law about Witches immediately follows the other about Virgins. *Epiphanius* reports, from one that saw it, such a magical Operation used by a *Jew*, to procure the Love of a Christian Woman, who was preserv'd from the Power of his Witchcraft by the Seal of Christ (as he calls the Sign of the Cross) wherewith she fortified herself at the first Attempt made upon her. And indeed the *Jewish* Nation have been always extreamly addicted to Witchcraft; and some of their famous Rabbins have been suspected of it. A Witch by the Law of *Moses* was to be stoned. Chap. 18. Exod 22 18. Hæref. 30. n. 7. 8.

A *Charmer*, as we render it in our *English* Bibles, or, more exactly according to the Original, one *that charmeth a Charm*, the *Jews* say, was a Person that practised Magick by the Use of certain Words and Voices, as well as Signs and Ceremonies, instituted by the Devil to effect something above the Power of Man; to charm a Serpent, for instance, that it shall not sting, or to preserve from any other Harm. This sort of Inchanters are called *Mutterers*; because they generally use a low and imperfect kind of Pronunciation, that their Words may not be heard by the Vulgar, and that their Spells (as they call them) may be the more effectual. But especially they used Words composed into Number and Verse; and thence a Charmer is translated by the *Septuagint*, *one that sings his Song*. And to this sort of Superstition the World was so addicted, that the Law of *Moses* could not bring the *Jews* quite off from it; but when they threw away their other Charms, they used the Words of Scripture instead of them; pretending, for instance, to cure Wounds by reading that Verse in the Law, *I will put none of these Diseases upon thee.* Deut. 18. 11. Exod. 15. 26. Maim. de Idolat. c. 11. sec. 15, 12.

Book II. But there is another Notion of the Word, which in the Original imports Conjoining, or *Associating*, as if it had respect to a diabolick Compact. This is he that by a Correspondence and Agreement with some evil Spirit, causes such and such things to be done, or hinders the doing of them. This is not an improper Exposition of a Charmer, which distinguishes him from all the other Retainers to Demoniacal Magick here specified.

Cap. 16. Num. 116. *Ludolphus*, in his Comment upon the *Ethiopick* History, gives a judicious Account of the Words that we render *Charmer*, by translating them *gathering together a Company*. It seems, it was an ancient way of Inchantment to bring, by the Power of magical Arts, various kinds of Beasts together into one Place; which the Rabbins distinguish into the *Great Congregation*, and the *Little Congregation*: The Great was, when they assembled a great Company of the larger sort of Beasts; and the Less, when they gathered as great a Company of the smaller, such as Serpents, Scorpions, and the like. And this Practice is in use among the Eastern Nations at this Day.

A Consulter with familiar Spirits, or, as it is render'd by the Seventy, one *that speaks out of his Belly*, was a Person who dealt directly and immediately with or by the Devil, and had such a way of pronouncing his Words, that he was thought to speak out of some hollow Vessel. Accordingly the Word used in the Original signifies a *Bottle*, or hollow Vessel; and it became the Name of such who counterfeited Voices, as if they were strange, and more than humane. Sorcerers and Wizards used to do this, to cheat and delude the People who came to inquire of them. They deliver'd their Answers as if they spoke out of a Bottle, or some other concavous Vessel. So the

1 Sam. 28. 7. Woman of *Ender* is call'd *the Mistress of the Bottle*, from which she spoke to them who came to consult her. In one Place, indeed, the Seventy

Isai. 19. 3. translate the Word by *speaking out of the Earth*; because the Voice coming from the lower Parts

of

of the Perſon poſſeſs'd, ſeem'd to proceed out of the Earth. The manner of it was thus: After certain Fumes and other Ceremonies, a Voice ſeemed to come from under the Arm-holes of the Perſon that had the familiar Spirit, which anſwer'd to the Queſtions that were aſk'd: But if it came from under the Arm-holes, ſtill it was ſo low and hollow, as if it proceeded from the Bottom of the Belly, or the Cavities of the Ground. Others imagine, ſuch Perſons were ſwelled with the Spirit, as a Bladder is when it is blown. But however it was, this Practice continued till the Times of the Goſpel, as appears by the Woman who had the Spirit of *Python*, recorded in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Chap. 18.

A *Wizard* was the ſame with a cunning Man, or a Fortune-teller, as we vulgarly ſpeak; one, who by the Flight of Fowls, or ſhrieking of Birds, or Entrails of Beaſts, than which nothing was more uſual among the *Gentiles*, profeſs'd to foretel future Events. To this purpoſe there is a Story in *Euſebius*, taken out of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory of *Hecatæus*, that when *Xerxes* had order'd his Army to halt, while his Wizards obſerv'd the Flight of a Fowl, a *Jew* who was in the Troop underſtanding it, ſhot the Bird dead; and by that means expoſed the Folly of conſulting a Creature who had no Foreſight of its own Misfortune. *Maimonides* will have it, that theſe Deceivers (who were always Men, as the Conſulters above were moſtly Women) obtained the Knowledge they pretended to, by putting the Bone of a certain Bird call'd *Jaddua* into their Mouths, with certain Fumes and Adjurations, which made them fall into an Extaſy, and foretel things to come. But by what Practice ſoever they acquired their Skill, it is certain that this ſort of Magicians were very knowing and expert in the choiceſt Myſteries of this helliſh Art: They pretended to be the ſagacious Interpreters of all the great Occurrences of the World; and eſpecially undertook to amuſe People with portentous Accidents Præpar. Evangel. l. 9.

Book II. that happen; and thence the *Hebrew* Word is render'd by the Seventy an *Inspector*, or Observer of Prodigies, which are made use of by him to deviliſh Purpoſes. *Manaſſeh*, who was a thorough-paced Magician, was not defective as to this; and this was the general Practice of the Pagan World, (from whence *Manaſſeh*, and other *Jews*, borrowed it) and particularly of the *Egyptians*. Theſe Wizards were the moſt ſkilful ſort of Diviners, and dealt in Prodigies, Wonders, and Events of the higheſt nature, which diſtinguiſh'd them, as I apprehend, from the reſt of their Fraternity in this Place. They who conſulted with theſe Impoſtors, or with thoſe who had familiar Spirits, if they committed this Sin knowingly, and there were Witneſſes of it, were to be ſtoned. If no Evidence could be produced, they were left to be cut off by the Hand of Heaven. The Deceivers, if they were diſcover'd and convicted, were likewiſe to be ſtoned to Death.

Iſai. 19. 3.

The laſt in the Catalogue is a *Necromancer*; or, exactly according to the *Hebrew*, one that *ſeeks unto the Dead*, who underſtands that particular Branch of the magick Art which conſiſts in conſulting the Dead, in order to be acquainted with the future State of the Living. It is not eaſy to diſcover wherein this Impoſtor differ'd from one that had a familiar Spirit, as we tranſlate it; for the Woman whom *Saul* conſulted, who had a Spirit, inquired alſo after this manner; their Spirit, it ſeems, inſtructing ſuch Perſons to call for the Dead to appear to them. But ſome perhaps had not ſuch a Spirit, who notwithſtanding conſulted the Dead, by going to their Graves in the Night, and there lying down, and muttering certain Words with a low Voice, that they might have Communion with them by Dreams, or by their appearing to them. A Necromancer is thus deſcribed by *Maimonides*: He is one, who having afflicted himſelf with Faſting, goes to the Burying-place, and there lies down and falls aſleep, and then the Dead appear to him and tell him what he

In Avada Zara, cap. 11. ſect. 15.

he desires. Such are they also who put on a cer- Chap. 18.
tain kind of Garment, speak some uncouth Words, and make a Fume, and then lie down alone, that the Dead whom they desire may come to them, and discourse with them in their Sleep. To this impious Practice the *Gentiles* were very prone; and it was thought so high an Attainment to come to this Knowledge, that *Julian* the Apostate, who was ambitious to be admitted into all the Pagan Mysteries, secretly practised Necromancy in the most retired Part of his Palace, cutting up the Bodies of Virgins and Boys, to bring up the Dead to him: Which was far more impious than what the *Talmudists* relate of such Tit. Beracoth. Persons, that they used to burn the Secundine of a black Cat when she had first Kitlings, and beating it very small, put some of the Powder upon their Eye, which made the Dæmons appear to them. To conclude this Subject, it is worth Observation, especially by some who are addicted to Scepticism in our Days, that the Writings of *Moses*, the antientest and most authentick Records in the World, bear witness that there is such a Thing as Diabolick Magick or Witchcraft, and that there are Persons that employ themselves in the Study and Practice of the several Parts of it. This is manifest from the particular Names and Titles given by *Moses* to the Students and Practitioners in this Art. And though perhaps one of them singly speaks not so much, yet it is certain, that all of them put together do prove evidently that there are those who hold Alliance with the damned Ghosts, and by their Assistance perform many wonderful Operations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Nazarites, Votaries *among the* Hebrews; *and* Rechabites.

THERE are two sorts of Votaries mentioned in the old Law, *Nazarites* and *Rechabites*. A *Nazarite* was a Person who by a Vow of his own separated himself from others by a Profession of some special Acts of Religion, and beyond the common Prescription of the Law dedicated himself to God in a peculiar kind of Sanctimony. And from hence this Vow was called the *Great Vow*, and *Separation unto the Lord*; and those who observed it, practised a higher Measure of Purity than other Men, and, with respect to Holiness, were rank'd in the same Class with the High Priest, being forbidden to pollute themselves by the Death either of Father or Mother. This Vow was either perpetual, and for Life, or for a time, which the *Jews* say was at least for thirty Days: But it appears by St. *Paul*, that it might be for a Week only, and every one might vow for what time he pleased. Women, if they thought fit, might make a Vow of *Nazarism* as well as Men, if they were absolutely at their own Disposal, and not under the Power of their Parents or Husbands, by whose Authority this Vow might be cancell'd. And tho' it be expressly said in the Law, that a Person was to separate *himself* by a voluntary Dedication; yet sometimes the Parent would set apart the Child: As *Hannah* vow'd *Samuel* to be a *Nazarite* before he was born. And sometimes God himself, by immediate Appointment, would separate a *Nazarite*; of which kind there were no more than two, *Samson* and *John the Baptist*. When a Woman carried a *Nazarite* in her Womb, she was bound to observe the same Restrictions in her Diet as the *Nazarites* did, and perhaps all the time she nurs'd him: And lest she should defile herself by going up and down,

Acts 22. 26.

and

and by that means contract a Pollution upon the Child unborn, she usually *hid herself*, lived retired from Company, and sequester'd herself from common Conversation. Chap. 19.

One part of the special Sanctity of a *Nazarite* consisted in a total Abstinence from Wine, or any thing that was intoxicating, that he might the better attend to the Study of the Law, and other Exercises of Religion; which justifies in part what *Maimonides* says, that *Nazarites* were advanced to the Dignity of Priests, who were not allowed to drink Wine or strong Drink in the time of their Ministration. This Interdiction relating to Sobriety was so severe, that they were obliged to avoid the drinking of any Liquor made of other Fruit, as Dates; to taste no Vinegar made of Wine, nor Wine made by macerating the Grapes in Water, after the Juice had been pressed out; nor to eat moist or dried Grapes, nor Paste or Sauce that had any Infusion or Juice of the Grapes in it, nor Pulp or Stone, or so much as the Bark of the Vine.

A second part of *Nazariteship* consisted in letting the Hair grow: No Razor or Scissars, or any other Instrument, was to come upon the Head, till the time of the Vow or Separation was expired; for long Hair made Persons look venerably, and a Neglect of it was proper for those who renounced for the present all manner of Pleasure, and betook themselves to a severer sort of Life. Besides, this was a Sign that the Votary had kept himself pure from all legal Defilements, otherwise his Head must have been shav'd. This Law some fancy to have been translated from the *Egyptians* into the Religion of the *Hebrews*. St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* is of opinion, that *Moses*, knowing how hard it would be to bring the *Israelites* from the ill Customs they had learnt in *Egypt*, most wisely instituted the like Rites with those that were in use there, that they might not perform such Worship any longer to *Dæmons*, but to the true God. But this Notion is not to be allowed; because there is no Proof that

Lib. 16. de Adorat.

Book II.

that this Ceremony of consecrating the Hair to *Dæmons* was so old among the *Egyptians* as the time of *Moses*. It is therefore far more probable, that the Original of this Custom among the *Gentiles* flowed from the *Jewish Nazarites*; and the *Heathens* were so fond of this Superstition, that they consecrated their Hair, not only in Honour of their Gods, but also to Rivers, in which they thought there was some Divinity.

It is to be observ'd here, that the *Jews* distinguish between what they call a *Samson Nazarite*, and an *Everlasting Nazarite*; not but that *Samson* was a *Nazarite* always; but they use this Distinction in reference to the manner of making the Vow: He that took on him to be a *Nazarite* like *Samson*, as saying, Behold I will be a *Nazarite* like *Samson*, or like the Son of *Manoah*, or like him that carried away the Gates of *Azzah*, or like him whose Eyes the *Philistines* put out, such a one might never cut his Hair, but it must ever grow upon him: And such a *Nazarite* did *Absalom* (at least by a feigned Vow) take upon himself to be; but he was forced to cut his Hair once every Year, because the Weight of it was so burdensome to his Head. But a Person that was a *Nazarite Everlasting*, who took upon him *Nazarism* upon other Terms, as he that said, I will be a *Nazarite* according to the Number of the Hairs of my Head, or the Dust of the Earth, or the Sand upon the Sea-shore, was allowed to poll his Head once in thirty Days; but his Hair was not to be burnt, because his Vow was not expired.

The last Branch of the Religion of a *Nazarite* was to avoid the Touch of a dead Body, nor be in the House where a Corps was, or to follow it to the Grave; for such Defilements occasioned a Pollution for seven Days, and kept Men from the Sanctuary; and therefore this Injunction was laid upon the *Nazarites*, that they might be always fit to attend upon Divine Service. They were bound to avoid this Uncleanness for Father or Mother; because the Hair upon their Head, which was unshorn,

shorn, shew'd them to be *separated* by a peculiar Vow (as the Word is in the *Hebrew*) to God and to Religious Uses. So strict was this Law of the *Nazarite*, that if he chanced to light upon a dead Body unawares, (as, if a Person should die near him by an Apoplexy, or by Violence) though he could not help being surprized, yet he was defiled; the Hair of his Head, which was consecrated, was polluted; and therefore could not be offer'd to God, nor burnt in his Honour. His *Nazariteship* was interrupted by this Defilement, so that he could not proceed farther till he was purified: He was unclean seven Days, and on the seventh he was to begin his Purification by shaving his Head. All other legal Uncleanesses polluted a *Nazarite* so, as to require him to be purified as other Men used to be in those Cases; but to be defiled by the Dead, derived such a Stain upon him, as absolutely to put him out of the State of *Nazarism*, and oblige him to begin again. But this is not to be understood of perpetual *Nazarites*, who were consecrated for their Life; for they were never shaven, whatever Defilement they contracted. Upon the eighth Day he was to bring two Turtles or young Pigeons to the Priest, the one for a Sin-Offering, and the other for a Burnt-Offering; he was likewise to offer a Lamb for a Trespass-Offering: And thus he was to atone for his Defilement, which was a kind of Sin, as it was a Breach of a Ceremonial Law. From this eighth Day he was to begin to compute the time of his *Nazariteship* for the time he at first vowed, tho' his Vow was upon the point of being accomplished: And thus he was to behave as often as such an Accident happen'd; for no humane Power could absolve him from this Vow, till it was fulfilled in the Exactness that is here required. If a *Nazarite* died in the time of his Separation, *Maimonides* says, any of his Sons might go on where he left, and at the end of the Days which his Father had vowed, he might offer the appointed Sacrifices, and be shav'd in his place. But this Indulgence, he confesses, is

Chap. 19.

not

Book II. not founded in Scripture, but depends wholly on Tradition.

A *Nazarite*, when his Vow was expired, was obliged to offer the following Sacrifices: A He Lamb of the firſt Year without Blemiſh for a Burnt-Offering, as an Acknowledgment of God's ſupreme Dominion; a Ewe Lamb of the firſt Year without Blemiſh for a Sin-Offering, imploring Pardon for Omiſſions he might be guilty of, during this Vow; and a Ram without Blemiſh for a Peace-Offering, in Gratitude to God for aſſiſting him to fulfil it. Theſe Sacrifices, that is, the Burnt-Offering and the Peace-Offering, were to be accompanied with the ordinary Meat-Offering and Drink-Offering; and had added to them over and above a Baſket of unleavened Bread, Cakes of fine Flour mingled with Oil, and Wafers of unleavened Bread anointed with Oil. Theſe Victims and Oblations the *Nazarite* was to deliver to the Prieſt at the Door of the Tabernacle, who received them, and offer'd them upon the Altar of Burnt-Offering. And now was the Votary allowed to ſhave his Head, and was obliged to bring his Hair (which was holy after the Accompliſhment of his Vow) into the Room of the *Nazarites*, (which ſtood, under the ſecond Temple, in the North Eaſt Corner of the Court of the Women) and to burn it under the Caldron where his Peace-Offering was boiling. This was done as a Teſtimony that his *Nazariſm* was at an end, and that he was no longer obliged to let his Hair grow; and this every *Nazarite* was oblig'd to do, tho' he polled his Head in the Country; which was the Caſe of St. *Paul*, who ſhaved his Head in *Cenchrea*. Then was the Prieſt to take the left Shoulder of the Peace-Offering as it boiled, and a Cake, and a Wafer of unleavened Bread, and to put all into the Hands of the *Nazarite*, and wave them; and then was the Vow completed, the Votary was reſtored to his former Freedom, had Liberty to drink Wine, and to be defiled by the Dead; and the Prieſt had upon this occaſion the Wave Shoulder given

given him, as a Token of the *Nazarites* Gratitude for his cleanſing. Theſe Sacrifices he was obliged to offer, though never ſo poor; but his Friends were allowed to aſſiſt him in the Expence; and if he was rich, he and his Friends might join to provide voluntary Offerings, beſides thoſe preſcribed by the Law. We read that St. *Paul*, by the Advice of St. *James* and the Elders at *Jeruſalem*, was *at Charges* with certain Men that had this Vow upon them, and *purified* himſelf *with them*; which was agreeable to the Cuſtom among the *Jews*, for others to help the *Nazarites* to fulfil their Vow, and partake with them in it, by abſtaining from Wine, from ſhaving their Hair, and Pollution by the Dead, for ſome time, in the ſame manner as they did. I have no more to add upon this Head, but that the Habit of a *Nazarite*, during his Separation, was a Garment of Hair, called by the *Hebrews Addareth*. Such a one was worn by *John Baptiſt*, as *Elijah* did before him, whoſe *Mantle* is called by this Name; from whence *Grotius* concludes, that either he was a *Nazarite*, or that the Habit of a Prophet and a *Nazarite* was the ſame.

Chap. 19.

Acts 21. 23, 24.

In Matt. 3. 4.

The *Rechabites* were a ſort of Votaries among the *Hebrews*, deſcended from *Jethro* the Father-in-law of *Moſes*, and his Son *Hobab*, from whom came *Rechab*, who was called *The Juſt*. It is uncertain when they firſt formed themſelves into a Society; but they always had Orders and Regulations peculiar to themſelves: They were remarkable for their ſtrict Piety and Integrity of Life, and were originally called *Kenites*. They likewiſe had the Name of *Scribes*; becauſe they ſtudied the Law, and were very ready in the expounding of it. *Jonadab*, the Son of *Rechab*, ſeems to have refined their old Diſcipline, and gave them a Set of Statutes and Laws, which the Sect ever held in the greateſt Reverence; and they always appealed to his Injunctions, as the Founder of the Fraternity. Their Vow conſiſted of theſe Obligations: They were bound to drink no Wine, nor to build Houſes, but to dwell in Tents; nor to ſow Seed, nor to plant Vineyards,

Jerem. 35.

yards, nor to have any, but to give themſelves up to a contemplative Life, and avoid all Occaſions of Luxury and Avarice, that ſo they might be prepared to leave the World upon a ſudden Summons, and without Reluctance. For which reaſon they lived in deſert and ſolitary Retirements, and never but in Caſes of War, and extreme Neceſſity, reſorted to Cities and populous Places; which ſhews that their Vow was not ſo ſtrictly obliging, but it might upon urgent Occaſions be diſpenſed with. This Religious Society was highly approved of by God, who, becauſe of their perpetual and ſolemn Obſervance of the Rites of their Fathers, promiſed, that *Jonadab*, the Son of *Rechab*, ſhould never want a Man to ſtand before him for ever.

CHAP. XX.

The Sects *among the* Hebrews, *the Principles and Practices of the* Phariſees.

WHEN Prophecy ceaſed in the *Jewiſh* Church, a rigid Superſtition and a Spirit of Faction ſucceeded, and produced a Number of Parties and Hereſies, by which the State was miſerably afflicted, the Divine Law corrupted and depraved, the Majeſty and Purity of it debaſed by the Teachers of thoſe Times, and made ſubſervient to Luſt, Avarice, and Ambition, and the vileſt Purpoſes of a wicked Life. Theſe Diviſions related either to the Church or the State, and were partly religious, partly political, and partly diſtinct; and though they ſpread into many Branches, yet they may with Propriety enough be comprehended under theſe Denominations, *Phariſees*, *Scribes*, *Sadduces*, *Karraites*, *Eſſenes*, *Publicans*, and *Galileans*.

The *Phariſees* were ſo called from the Word *Peraſh*, importing *Expoſition*, or rather *Paraſh*, implying *Separation*; becauſe they were ſeparated from all others in their extraordinary Pretences to Piety, and

and in a Singularity of Holineſs and Devotion. It is uncertain when this Sect began to appear in the World, tho' it is moſt commonly believed to be about three hundred Years before our Saviour's Birth. However, in a ſhort time it became a bold and daring Sect, not fearing to affront Princes and Perſons of the greateſt Quality: They were crafty and inſinuating, and by a Shew of mighty Zeal, and infinite Strictneſs in Religion, above the ordinary Rate of Mankind, had procured themſelves a ſtrange Veneration from the People; they gave themſelves up to infinite Niceties and ſuperſtitious Practices, which they pretended to fetch out of their Traditions, ſuch as to eat ſeparately, frequent Waſhings and Purifications, in which, and innumerable other Trifles, they were ſo exceedingly ſcrupulous, that they made the Neglect of them of equal Guilt with the greateſt Immorality, not fearing to aſſert, that he who eats Bread with unwaſhen Hands is as if he lay with an Harlot; and if any came to a Houſe where there was not Water enough to waſh and to drink, the *Phariſee* would chuſe to waſh, tho' he died with Thirſt. Yet notwithſtanding their ſpecious Pretences to an extraordinary Sanctity and Severity, they were but religious Villains, and the moſt inſolent and implacable Generation that ever any Age produced, diſdaining and trampling upon all but their own Party, and accounting the reſt as Slaves and Sons of the Earth. They were ſpiteful and malicious, griping and voracious, mercileſs Dealers, and moſt ſuperlatively cenſorious and uncharitable; and it is hard to ſay which was moſt predominant, their inſatiable Avarice, their inſupportable Pride, or their unfathomable Hypocriſy. They would faſt often to obtain fortunate Dreams, and to avert threatning Evils, particularly upon *Mondays* and *Thurſdays*; becauſe *Moſes*, they ſay, went up into the Mount upon a *Thurſday*, and came down upon a *Monday*. They were no leſs exact in the Payment of their Tithes, even to things of the leaſt Value and ſmalleſt Concernment, and were as careful in pay-

Chap. 20.

Book II. ing the best of their Increase, as the top of the Heap, the Flower of the Wheat, and the first running of the Wine.

They discriminated themselves from the Herd and Community, not only by their sour and sanctified Countenances, but also by some peculiar Notes and Badges of Distinction: They wore particular Habits, such as a Robe longer than ordinary, to distinguish them from the Vulgar; from whence came the Maxim, that the Garments of the People of the Land were to them as the Shoes of him that had an Issue. The Fringes which the *Jews* were obliged to wear at the Bottom of the four Skirts of their Garments, and by which they were distinguish'd from the People of other Nations, the *Pharisees* inlarged and extended to a greater Length, so that they swept the Ground, and became the more observable. The Design of these Fringes was to put them in mind of their Duty to God; and therefore they used to fix sharp Thorns in them, that by the often pricking of the Thorns, whether they walk'd or sate still, they might be the more mindful of the divine Commands. Their *Phylacteries* likewise they wore broader than the common sort, as an Evidence of their strict Sanctity. These *Phylacteries* were four Paragraphs of the *Mosaick* Law, written upon two Parchments, which they wore about them continually, as Memorandums of their Observance of the Law, and Testimonies of their Devotion; and therefore they are called in the *Greek* Tongue *Phylacteria*, or Observatories. St. *Chrysostom* was of opinion, that the whole Decalogue was written upon these Parchments. But this is a Mistake; for in their publick Prayers they always rehearsed the ten Commandments, and then they said their *Phylacteries*. It is therefore upon better Grounds supposed, that four Portions of the Law were written upon these Parchment Labels; which were these: The first began, *Sanctify unto me all the First-born*, taken out of the thirteenth of *Exodus*, to the end of the tenth Verse: The second began, *And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee,*

In Matth.

thee, taken out of the same Chapter, from the eleventh Verse to the seventeenth: The third began, *Hear O Israel*, taken out of the sixth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, beginning with the fourth, and ending with the ninth Verse: The last began, *And it shall come to pass, if you shall hearken diligently*, beginning at the thirteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of the same Book, and ending with the one and twentieth. The Manner and Curiosity of writing these Sentences in their several Columns, and on what Parchment, and with what Ink, is largely described by *Maimonides*, but not of Importance sufficient to concern us at this time. I shall only observe the reason why these were used rather than any other Sentences of the Law; which was, because in every one of the Sections there is Mention either of those Words, being *Frontlets between their Eyes*, or a *Memorial between their Eyes*, or that they should *bind them upon their Hands*; and accordingly the Place where they wore those two Parchments was, the one upon their Foreheads downwards towards between their Eyebrows, and the other upon their left Arm. It is disputed, whether the whole Nation used these *Phylacteries* indifferently, or only those who were called the Scholars of the Wise, who pretended to more Knowledge, Devotion, and Study of the Law, than the common People. It seems certain that the *Sadduces*, though they could not comply with the Traditions of the *Pharisees*, yet that they used *Phylacteries* as well as they, but only differ'd in opinion about the Place where they should wear them: And that Husbandmen, Tradesmen, and the rest of the common People, wore these Parchments, may be reasonably collected from a Passage in *Maimonides*, where speaking of those things, for which a Man might be allowed to pass by a Synagogue whilst the Service was performing, he says; were his *Phylacteries* seen upon him, then that was a Sign that he did not neglect the Law; and so, though he had occasion to pass the Synagogue at that time, yet his *Phylacteries* appearing spake for him, that it was not for

Chap. 20.

In Tephill. per. 1.

Ubi supra.

want of Devotion, but that he was called away by some necessary Occasion, and so could not attend. And it is generally believed, that the *Jewish* Children were brought up from their Infancy in rehearsing the *Phylacteries*, that is, as soon as they were capable of being catechised. However the Commonalty did not wear these *Phylactery* Parchments as the Learned did, yet both were equally obliged to say over the *Phylactery* Sentences every Day in the Morning, from the opening of the Day, till Sun rising; and in the Evening (as the *Jews* distinguish) from the time that the Priests go in to eat their Offerings, until the end of the first Watch. This Rehearsal is commonly called by the *Hebrews* the saying over of *Shema*, because one of the Sections began with *Shema Israel*, *Hear O Israel*; which tho' it be not the first of the four as they stand written in the Book of the Law, yet was it ever said first; and the Reason is given, because it contains the first and the Foundation of all other Duties, and that is, *To love the Lord*. Now besides the daily Rehearsal of these Sentences Morning and Evening, to which they were all bound by their Traditions, they esteem'd it a great Piece of Piety to say them over at the Hour of Death. They used them likewise as Preservatives; and superstitiously conceited, that as by Amulets, Spells, and Charms hanged about their Neck, they should be preserved by them from Dangers, and secure from the Power of evil Spirits. This is sufficient to shew the Nature and Use of these *Phylacteries*, which the *Pharisees*, for Ostentation, made very broad and visible, that they might procure a proportionate Fame among the Vulgar; for these were always looked upon as Arguments of Meditation upon the Divine Law, and certain Evidences of singular Holiness and Devotion.

As to the religious Principles of the *Pharisees*, they believed a Resurrection of the Dead, and that there are Angels and Spirits: But, according to *Josephus*, this Resurrection of theirs was no

De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.

more

more than a *Pythagorean* Reſurrection; that is, of the Soul only by its Tranſmigration into another Body, and being born anew with it. From this Reſurrection they excluded all that were notoriouſly wicked; for of ſuch their Notion was, that their Souls, as ſoon as ſeparated from their Bodies, were tranſmitted into a Place of never ending Pain, there to ſuffer the Puniſhment of their Sins to all Eternity. But as to leſſer Crimes, their Opinion was, that they were puniſh'd in the Bodies which the Souls of thoſe who committed them were next ſent into. What this Sect believed concerning Predeſtination, and Free-will, is difficult to determine; for, according to *Joſephus*, they held abſolute Predeſtination with the *Eſſenes*, and Free-will with the *Sadducees*, jumbled both together: For they aſcrib'd to God and Fate all that is done, and yet left to Man the Freedom of his Will. But how they made theſe two apparent Incompatibles conſiſt together, is no where ſufficiently explain'd. Perhaps they intended no more, than that every Man freely chuſes what he is unalterably predeſtinated to. But if he be predeſtinated to that Choice, how freely ſoever he may ſeem to chuſe, he has certainly no Free-will; becauſe, according to this Scheme, he is unalterably neceſſitated to all that he does, and cannot poſſibly chuſe otherwiſe. Chap. 20.

But the principal diſtinguiſhing Character of this Sect, was their Zeal for the *Tradition of the Elders*, which they derived from the ſame Fountain with the *written Word* itſelf, pretending both to have been deliver'd to *Moſes* from Mount *Sinai*; the latter only committed to Writing, the other deliver'd from Generation to Generation by Tradition; and therefore they aſcrib'd equally to both the ſame Authority, and thought themſelves bound to obſerve the *Oral Law* with the ſame Strictneſs as the *Written*, or rather with much more: For the Written Law, they ſay, is in many Places obſcure, ſcanty, and defective, and could be no perfect Rule without the Oral; which

Book II. containing, according to them, a full, compleat, and perfect Interpretation of all that is written in the other, supplies all the Defects, and solves all the Difficulties of it. Hence have the *Jews* in all Ages magnified and extoll'd this Traditionary Law above the Written with the most extravagant and blasphemous Commendations. They tell us, that this is the Foundation of the Law, for whose sake it was that God enter'd into Covenant with the *Israelites*; that, without this, the whole Law would lie in the dark, be mere Obscurity and Darkness itself, as being contrary and repugnant to it self, and defective in Things necessary to be known; that it is Joy to the Heart, and Health to the Bones; that the Words of it are more lovely and desirable than the Words of the Law, and it is a greater Sin to violate the one than the other; that it's little or no Commendation for a Man to read the Bible, but to study the *Mishna* is that for which a Man shall receive the Reward of another World; and that no Man can have a peaceable and quiet Conscience, who leaves the Study of the *Talmud* to go to that of the Bible; that the Bible is like Water, but the *Mishna* and *Talmud* (in which are contain'd their Traditions) are as Wine and Hippocras; that the Written Law is only as Salt, but the *Mishna* and *Talmud* as sweet Spices. By these, and many other Sayings very common among them, do they express the high Veneration they bear towards the Oral or Traditionary Law, and the little Regard they shew to the Written Word in comparison of it; making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former; as if the Written Word were no more than the dead Letter, and the Traditionary Law alone the Soul that gives the whole Life and Essence to it. This being the Opinion of the *Pharisees*, and the Body of the *Jewish* Nation, concerning Traditions, which they call their *Oral Law*, it may not be improper to inquire into its Original. And this

for

for the preſent will ſerve for a ſhort Account of it. Chap. 20.

They tell us, that when *Moſes* waited upon God forty Days in the Mount, he gave him a double Law, one in Writing, the other Traditionary, containing the Senſe and Explication of the former. Being come into his Tent, he repeated it firſt to *Aaron*, then to *Ithamar* and *Eleazar* his Sons, then to the ſeventy Elders, and laſtly to all the People, the ſame Perſons being all this while preſent. *Aaron*, who had heard it now four times recited, *Moſes* being gone out, again repeated it before them. After his Departure out of the Tent, his two Sons, who by this time had heard it as often as their Father, made another Repetition of it; by which means the ſeventy Elders came to hear it four times; and then they alſo repeated it to the Congregation, who now alſo had heard it repeated four times together, once from *Moſes*, then from *Aaron*, then from his Sons, and laſtly from the ſeventy Elders. After which the Congregation broke up, and every one went home, and taught it his Neighbour. This Oral Law *Moſes* upon his Death-bed repeated to *Joſhua*, he deliver'd it to the Elders, they to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Wiſemen of the great Synagogue, the laſt of whom was *Simeon* the Juſt, who deliver'd it to *Antigonus Sochæus*, and he to his Succeſſors the Wiſemen, whoſe Buſineſs it was to recite it; and ſo it was handed through ſeveral Generations. After ſeveral Ages, it came at laſt to *Rabbi Jehuda*, commonly ſtyled by the *Jews* Our holy Maſter, the Son of *Rabban Symeon*, (who flouriſhed a ſhort time before *Antoninus* govern'd the *Roman* Empire) who, conſidering the unſettled and tottering Condition of his own Nation, and how apt theſe Traditionary Precepts would be to be forgotten, or miſtaken, by the Weakneſs of Mens Memories, or the Perverſeneſs of their Wits, or the Diſperſion of the *Jews* in other Countries, collected all theſe Laws and Expoſitions, and committed them to Writing, ſtyling

his Book *Miſhnah*, or the *Repetition*. This was afterwards illuſtrated and explained by the Rabbins dwelling about *Babylon*, with infinite Caſes and Controverſies concerning their Law; whoſe Reſolutions were at laſt compiled into another Volume, which they called *Gemara*, or *Doctrine*; and both together conſtitute the intire Body of the *Babyloniſh Talmud*, the one being the Text, and the other the Comment. The Folly and Vanity of this Account are ſufficiently evident, and need no Confutation. Yet this is the Foundation of the Traditionary Law, in ſuch Eſteem with the Sect of the *Phariſees*, that they valued its Authority even beyond the Teſtimony of Miracles. And tho' many of their Traditions are burdenſome and almoſt inſupportable, yet this Sect has almoſt devour'd all the reſt; having had for many Ages none to oppoſe them, except a few of the *Karraites*: For, excepting them only, the whole Nation of the *Jews*, from the Deſtruction of the Temple to this preſent Time, have gone wholly into the *Phariſaical* Opinions, and received all their Traditions for divine Dictates, and to this Day obſerve them with much greater Regard and Devotion than the Written Word it ſelf. So that they have in a manner, for the ſake of their Traditions, annull'd all the Holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, and ſet up the *Talmud* to be their Bible in the Place of them.

The *Phariſees* were diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Branches; the moſt remarkable of which were called by the Name of *Zealots*, by ſome accounted a diſtinct Sect. Theſe were a moſt outrageous and ungovernable People, fierce and ſavage, who being zealous Aſſerters of the Honour of God's Laws, and the Strictneſs and Purity of Religion, aſſum'd to themſelves a Liberty of queſtioning notorious Offenders, without ſtaying for the ordinary Formalities of Law: Nay, when they thought fit, and as the Caſe required, they executed capital Puniſhments upon them with their own Hands. Thus when a Blaſphemer curſed God by the Name

Name of any Idol, the Zealots that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever bringing him before the *Sanhedrim*. They looked upon themselves as the true Successors of *Phinehas*, who, in a mighty Passion for the Honour of God, did immediate Execution upon *Zimri* and *Cozbi*; which Action was so pleasing to God, that he made with him, and his Seed after him, the Covenant of an everlasting Priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an Atonement for *Israel*. In imitation of him, these Men took upon them to execute Judgment in extraordinary Cases; and that not only by the Connivance, but with the Permission both of the Rulers and the People; till in After-times, under a Pretence of this, their Zeal degenerated into all manner of Licentiousness and wild Extravagance. And they not only became the Pests of the Commonwealth at home, but open'd the Door for the *Romans* to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable Ruin. They were continually encouraging the People to throw off the *Roman* Yoke, and vindicate themselves into their native Liberty, and when they had turn'd all things into Hurry and Confusion, themselves in the mean while fished in these troubled Waters. *Josephus* gives a large Account of them, and every where speaks of them as the publick Plague of the Nation. He tells us, that they made no scruple of robbing and plundering, and to kill the principal of the Nobility, under pretence of holding Correspondence with the *Romans*, and betraying the Liberty of their Country: And upon the Merit of this, they assum'd to themselves the Titles of Benefactors and Saviours of the People. They abrogated the Succession of antient Families, thrusting ignoble and obscure Persons into the Office of the High Priest, that so they might oblige the most infamous Villains to their Party. And not contented to affront Men, they injur'd the Majesty of Heaven, and proclaimed Defiance to the Divinity itself, breaking into, and profaning the most Holy Place.

Chap. 20.

Numb. 25. 13.

De Bell. Jud. lib. 4.

They

They ſtyled themſelves *Zealots* (ſays our Author) as if their Undertakings had been good and honourable, while they were forward to promote the greateſt Wickedneſs, and outdid the worſt of Men. Many Attempts were made, eſpecially by *Annas* the High Prieſt, to reduce them to Order and Sobriety; but neither Force of Arms, nor fair and gentle Methods, could prevail upon them. They perſiſted and held on in their violent Proceedings, and joining with the *Idumeans*, committed all manner of Outrage, and ſlew many of the High Prieſts themſelves: So that when *Jeruſalem* was ſtraitly beſieged by the *Roman* Army, they never left off to promote Tumults and Diſtractions within, till their inteſtine Quarrels ended at laſt in the ſacking of the City.

There are ſeven other ſorts of *Phariſees* mention'd in both the *Talmuds*, which will be worth deſcribing, if it be only to ſhew to what Madneſs this Sect arrived, as well as to what a Degree of Hypocriſy. A *Shechemite Phariſee*, who was circumciſed, not for the Honour of God, but for the ſake of Profit and Self-Intereſt. A *Daſoing Phariſee*, who walks in Humility, and withdraws himſelf from the Crowd in the Streets: He moves ſlowly, the Heel of one Foot touching the great Toe of the other; nor does he lift up his Feet from the Earth, ſo that his Toes were daſhed againſt the Stones. A *Phariſee that lets out his Blood*: He would ſhut his Eyes when he walk'd abroad, to avoid the Sight of Women, and preſs himſelf ſo cloſe againſt the Walls, that he might not touch thoſe that paſſed by; by which means he hurt his Feet, and made them bleed. A *Phariſee of the Mortar*, who wore a looſe Coat in the Shape of a Mortar, with the Mouth turned downwards; for his Garment was ſtraiter above, and narrower below: Or, as others ſay, he wore a Hat reſembling a deep Mortar, ſo that he could not look upward, nor of either ſide, but only downward, or ſtrait forward. The *Phariſee who ſays, Let me know what my Duty is, and I will do it*:

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As if he should say, there is no Man can shew me wherein I have transgress'd. A *Pharisee for Love*, who obey'd the Law for the Love of Virtue. A *Pharisee for Fear*, who follow'd the Law for fear of Punishment. He that conform'd for Fear, had regard chiefly to the negative Commands; and he who obey'd for Love, respected more particularly the Affirmative. It might be added that there were Women who voluntarily profess'd themselves of this Sect of the *Pharisees*, as well as Men. They were generally Widows or pretended Maids, who under the Veil of Sanctity and Devotion conceal'd and practised all manner of Debauchery and Wickedness. Chap. 21.

CHAP. XXI.

The Scribes.

IN Conjunction with the *Pharisees* the *Scribes* are often mentioned in the Scriptures of the New Testament; which Word more properly signifies the Name of some Office or Function, than of any Sect, they being more antient than any Sect among the *Jews*. These were Persons of great Repute, being called in the New Testament *Scribes of the Law*, *Teachers of the People*, *Doctors of the Law*, and sometimes *Lawyers*: And as such this Office began immediately after the *Babylonian* Captivity, above five hundred Years before the Nativity of Christ, *Ezra* himself being one of the first. They were a Body of the most learned Men of the Nation, and generally of the Tribe of *Levi*, who were distinguished by the Title of *Scribes of the Clergy*: those who were not derived from the *Levitical* Stock, but, as the *Jews* say, from the Tribe of *Simeon* only, being called *Scribes of the People*. The Business of the Lay *Scribes* was to undertake to copy the Bible for any who had occasion for it: For so various is the Accuracy and Exactness of the Scripture-Text in the

the mystical Signification of Letters, Vowels, and Accents, that it was not proper for every one to attempt to transcribe the Original, or that every vulgar Pen should copy Things of so sublime Speculation. Therefore there was a peculiar Order of learned Men among the *Jews*, whose Office it was to take care to preserve the Purity of the Text in all Bibles that should be copied out, that no Corruption should creep into the Original of Sacred Writ: And these were called *Scribes of the People*. Those who were Men of Learning, and scholastick Education, were likewise employ'd as publick Notaries in the *Sanhedrims* and Courts of Justice, and as Registers in the Synagogues. And they not only transcrib'd the Book of the Law, but they wrote out Phylacteries, short Sentences to be fixed upon the Doorposts, Bills of Contracts or Divorce, and other Matters of civil or religious Concern. Out of these it is probable that some of the best Accomplishments among them were made choice of to attend upon the King as his Secretaries, called the *King's Scribes*. And to qualify them for these Offices, they were enter'd Students in some publick Academy (of which there were eight and forty belonging to the *Levitical* Tribe) where they studied with great Application, till they were capable of these Employments.

The Office of the *Scribes* of the Clergy was to preach in publick, and to instruct the People; for they were more constant Teachers than any other of the Clergy; taking upon them to be the most certain and regular Interpreters and Expounders of the Law in Sermons: In which respect they may be compared to Canonists in the Church of *Rome*, or the Divinity-Lecturers in some publick Universities. And they grew into such Repute in the *Jewish* State, that it was hard to say whether the *Pharisees* or they were held in the greater Veneration; for what the *Pharisees* gain'd in the common People, by their Pretensions to an extraordinary Sanctity, these obtained more justi-

fiably

fiably by their Zeal for the Written Word, which they preserved from the common Dangers of Corruption and Contempt. And tho' these *Scribes* were more properly an Order than a Sect, yet since they were so closely link'd with the *Pharisees*, and concurr'd with them in most of their Corruptions and Superstitions, we may look upon them as a strong and powerful Faction, of great Authority and Influence in Affairs of the greatest Importance. They both are represented to sit in *Moses*'s Seat upon the Legislative Bench, and presided in the Courts of Justice, being called *The Fathers of the* Sanhedrim. But there was a Degree of *Scribes* who sate in this Court, not in the Capacity of Legislators or Judges, but as Men learned in the Law, whose Office it was to explain Cases of Difficulty, and with whom the Fathers consulted when any Debates arose about the Execution of Justice.

CHAP. XXII.

Titulary *Distinctions among the* Pharisees *and* Scribes, Rab, Rabbi, Rabban, *&c.*

THE *Scribes* and *Pharisees* are likewise join'd in Scripture, and censured for their Pride, and vain Affectation of swelling Titles and Names of Distinction, and loved to be called *Rabbi*, *Rabbi*. This and other Titles of their Doctors, as *Rab* and *Rabban*, began to be in use but a small time before the Birth of Christ. The Prophets, and the Men of the great Synagogue, and all the Generations from the times of *Hillel*, were satisfied to be call'd by their bare Names only; but *Simeon*, the Son of *Hillel*, (who is supposed to have taken our Saviour in his Arms) was the first Doctor with a Title, and he was called *Rabban*. From his times, and forward, Titles came exceedingly into request, and none more common than the Title *Rabbi*, as appears frequently

frequently in the Gospel, and infinitely in their own Writers. This honourable Distinction they admired, notwithstanding the dissembled Axiom among them, *Love the Work, but hate the Title.* Now the Reason why this Titularity was in use in these times, and not before, may be supposed to be one or both of these: Either because of the Contest fomented continually between the Schools of *Shammai* and *Hillel*, which commonly differ'd in Judgment in every thing almost that came before them, and assumed Epithets of Honour in opposition to one another; or, because the *Jewish* Learning about that time was vainly supposed to have arrived at its utmost Height: And therefore it's no wonder that the Men who pretended to Learning, grew fond of titulary Distinctions; especially considering what the *Talmud* observes of the Scholars of *Hillel*, who were eighty in all; and thirty of them, they say, were worthy that the Divine Glory should rest upon them, as it did upon *Moses*. It was with the *Jews* at this time, as it prov'd afterwards among the Christian Doctors, who, when Piety, Truth, and Humility prevailed, were content with their bare Names; but when Pride and Error succeeded, then the Epithets of *Seraphick* and *Angelick*, and other ostentatious Names, came into Fashion and Entertainment. These distinguishing Titles imported *Mastership*, *Doctorship*, or *Principality*, and were higher in Regard and Dignity one than the other. *Rabbi* was a more excellent Name than *Rab*, *Rabban* was more excellent than *Rabbi*, and the simple Name without any Title, as *Haggai*, *Zachary*, *Malachi*, was more excellent than *Rabban*. *Rab* was the more proper Title of the *Babylonian* Doctors, *Rabbi* of the *Judæan*, and *Rabban* was ascrib'd to seven Men only.

The Discipline used in the *Jewish* Schools in conferring Titles was in this manner: The Scholar was called a *Disciple* in respect of his Learning, a *Junior* in respect of his Minority, and one *chosen*, or *elected*, in regard to his Election

or

or Co-optation into the Number of Disciples. After he had prov'd a good Proficient, and was thought worthy of a Degree, he was, by Imposition of Hands, made a Graduate, or *Companion to a Rabbi.* This Ceremony was observ'd in imitation of *Moses* towards *Joshua*, and was follow'd with this Form of Words; *I associate thee, and be thou associated.* When he was thought capable of teaching others, he was called *Rabbi.* And whereas in his Minority, his own Name being suppress'd, he was called only by his Father's Name, *the Son of N.* when he was made a Graduate by Imposition of Hands, then was he called by his own Name, *N. the Son of N.* and afterward, when he was judg'd able to teach, then was the Title of *Rabbi* prefixed after this manner; *Rabbi N. the Son of N.* For instance, *Maimonides* was at first called *Ben Maimon*, the Son of *Maimon*; after his Degree he was called by his own Name, *Moses Ben Maimon*, *Moses* the Son of *Maimon*; at last, being licensed to teach, then was he called *Rambam*; which Abbreviation consisting of Capital Letters, signifies, *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*, *Rabbi Moses* the Son of *Maimon.* This Distinction of *Scholars*, *Companions*, and *Rabbis*, appears by what was said by one of their Teachers: I learned much of my *Rabbis* or *Masters*, more of my *Companions*, most of all of my *Scholars.* When any publick Disputations were held in their Schools or Synagogues, the *Rabbis* sate in reserved Chairs, which are the *chief Seats* which the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* so much affected; their Companions sate upon Benches, or lower Forms; the Scholars upon the Ground at the Feet of their Teachers.

[p] Fagius in Scholiis ad cap. 4. Pirke Abot.

The *Pharisees*, who taught and propagated the Traditionary Doctrines, have been distinguish'd by several other Appellations, according to the different Ages wherein they lived. From the time of the Men of the Great Synagogue, to the publishing of the *Mishna*, they were called *Tannaim*, or Traditionaries; and they are the *Mishnical* Doctors, out of whose Doctrines and Traditions the *Mishnah* was compos'd:

compos'd: And from the time of publishing the *Mishnah*, to the Publication of the *Babylonish Talmud*, they were called *Amoraim*, or Dictators, because they dictated those Explications upon the *Mishnah* which are contained in the *Gemara*; and they are the *Gemarical* Doctors, out of whose Doctrines and Traditions the *Gemara* was drawn up. For about a hundred Years after the Publication of the *Talmud* they were called *Seburaim*, or Opinionists; for they did not deliver any Doctrines, but only infer'd Opinions by Disputation, and probable Arguments from what had been before dictated and receiv'd in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*. After that they had the Appellation of *Geonim*, or sublime and excellent Doctors, so called from the Excellency and Sublimity of their Learning. But for these latter Times the general Name of *Rabbi* is that whereby their learned Men are distinguished, there being no other Title among them for near seven hundred Years past: For, about the Year one thousand and forty, all their Schools in *Mesopotamia*, where only they enjoy'd these high Titles, being destroy'd, and all their learned Men expelled thence by the *Mahometan* Princes who governed in that Country, they have since, with the greatest number of their People, flocked into these Western Parts, especially into *Spain*, *France*, and *England*; and from that time all these pompous Titles which they affected in the East being dropt, their Men of Learning retain no other Names from that time but *Rabbi*; excepting only that those among them who minister in their Synagogues are called *Chacamim*, or Wisemen. This Title, tho' in it self general and common to all Teachers and Doctors of the Law, yet for many Years before our Saviour's Incarnation was arrogated by the *Pharisees*, and appropriated to them by the Vulgar, from an Opinion of their extraordinary Wisdom in teaching Traditions; from whence they were called the Masters of the Traditions. A *Wiseman* was a Title of the greatest Dignity in the *Jewish* State, and

and took place of the higheſt Officers among them, according to this Account of Precedency: A Wiſeman is to take place of a King, a King of a High Prieſt, a High Prieſt of a Prophet, a Prophet of one anointed for the War, the Anointed for the War of a Preſident of the Courſes, a Preſident of the Courſes of the Head of a Family, a Head of a Family of a Counſellor, a Counſellor of a Treaſurer, a Treaſurer of a private Prieſt, a private Prieſt of a *Levite*, a *Levite* of an *Iſraelite*, an *Iſraelite* of a Baſtard, a Baſtard of a *Nethinim*, a *Nethinim* of a Proſelyte, a Proſelyte of a freed Slave. But when is this to be? when they are equal as to other things. But indeed if a Baſtard be a Diſciple, or a Wiſeman, and the High Prieſt be unlearned, the Baſtard is to take place before him. A Wiſeman is to be preferr'd before a King; for if a Wiſeman dies, he has not left his Equal; but if a King dies, any *Iſraelite* is fit for a Kingdom. Chap. 23. Jeruſ. Horaioth

CHAP. XXIII.

The Sadducees.

THE next principal Sect among the *Jews* were the *Sadducees*, oppoſite to the *Phariſees* both in Temper and Principles; ſo called either from *Sadoc*, who lived near three hundred Years before our Saviour's Birth, and is ſuppoſed to be the Founder of the Sect; or from *Sedek*, which ſignifies Juſtice, as tho' they were the only exact Diſtributers of Juſtice, and able to juſtify themſelves before the Tribunal of God. Theſe paſs under a very ill Character, even among the Writers of their own Nation, being ſtyled wicked Men, of very looſe and profligate Lives; which is no more than the natural Conſequence of their Principles, this being one of their eſtabliſh'd

Book II. Opinions, That the Soul is not immortal, and that there is no future State after this Life. They denied the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Being of Angels, and all Exiſtences of the Spirits or Souls of Men departed. Their Notion was, That there is no ſpiritual Being but God only; That as to Man, the preſent World is his All; That at his Death Body and Soul die together, never to live more; and that therefore there is no future Reward or Puniſhment. They confeſſed that God made this World by his Power, and governs it by his Providence, and, for the carrying on of this Government, has ordained Rewards and Puniſhments, but that they are in this World only; and for this reaſon alone was it that they worſhip'd him, and paid Obedience to his Laws. In ſhort, they were *Epicurean* Deiſts (as the *Phariſees* in many Points followed the *Stoicks*, and the *Eſſenes* imitated *Pythagoras*) in all other Reſpects, excepting only that they allowed that God made the World by his Power, and governs it by his Providence. The Occaſion of this dangerous Hereſy is ſaid to have been a Miſtake of the Doctrine of *Antigonus* of *Socho*, who was Preſident of the *Sanhedrim* at *Jeruſalem*, and the great Teacher of the *Jewiſh* Laws. This eminent Doctor was uſed to preſs his Scholars not to be like mercenary Servants, who in an abject manner ſerved their Maſters purely for Advantage; but to ſerve God from a Principle of filial Love, and for his own ſake, without Expectation of future Rewards. Which being miſunderſtood, two of his Scholars, *Sadoc* and *Baithus*, abſolutely concluded that their Maſter had denied any State of Rewards in another Life; and therefore ſeparating themſelves from his School, they began that Sect among the *Jews*, which from the Name of *Sadoc*, the firſt Founder, were called *Sadducees*. But this *Talmudical* Story is diſputed by learned Men, who aſſert that there were ſome who denied the Reſurrection of the Dead in the Days of *Ezra*. At the Concluſion of all Prayers in the Temple they

Bab. Berac. fol. 54.

ſaid

said *for ever*; but when the Hereticks brake in, and said that there was no Age but this, *Ezra* and his Consistory ordain'd, that it should be said *for ever and ever*, to imply that there was another World beside the present, and to root out of the Heart the Opinion of those that deny the Resurrection of the Dead. After the Time of *Ezra* and his great Synagogue, (which continued many Years after his Decease) *Simeon the Just* executed the Office of High-Priest for forty Years; and *Antigonus* of *Socho*, the Master of *Sadoc*, succeeded him in the Chair of the *Sanhedrim*: So that though the *Sadducees* were with good Reason charged with denying the Resurrection of the Dead, yet that Heresy appears to have been in being when there were no Hereticks called by the Name of *Sadducees*. It is not to be denied that the *Sadducean* Hereticks received their Name from *Sadoc*; but there is good reason to believe that the Heresy of the *Sadducees* concerning the Resurrection was older than that Name, and had infested the *Jewish* Church before *Sadoc* was born; and therefore it follows, that this wicked Doctrine did not arise from the Words of *Antigonus*, misunderstood by *Sadoc* and *Baithus*, but was of a more ancient Original, when as yet the Prophets *Zacharias*, *Malachi*, and *Ezra* himself were living, if *Ezra* were not the same with *Malachi*, as the *Jews* suppose. The Words of the Prophet last mentioned, *Ye have said it is in vain to serve God, and what Profit is it that we have kept his Ordinances?* &c. sufficiently point at such a Heresy. It is not therefore improbable but this Heresy might arise from misunderstanding the Words of *Ezekiel* in the former Part of the thirty-seventh Chapter: The Prophet speaks of a Resurrection of *dry Bones*, which some understanding according to the Letter, and observing no Resurrection immediately to follow, imagin'd that there would never be any afterwards. And this Doctrine increas'd and grew into a Sect, till at length *Sadoc* and *Baithus* took upon them to assert that it was confirm'd

Chap. 23.

Mal. 3. 14.

Book II. out of the Chair by *Antigonus* their Master, and President of the *Sanhedrim*.

These Hereticks were strenuous Opposers of the *Pharisees*, and utterly rejected their Traditions, for which they were so zealous, teaching that Men were to keep to the Letter of the Law, and that nothing was to be imposed upon their Belief or Practice, but what was expressly contained in the *Pentateuch*: And if it be true what the Talmudical Story abovementioned relates, that *Sadoc*, on the first publishing of his Doctrine, was forced, for the Impiety of it, to fly to the *Samaritans* for Refuge, it is possible that he might learn this part of his Heresy from them; for they admitted only the five Books of *Moses*, rejecting all other Parts of the Holy Scripture, as well the Prophets as the Hagiographa. But it seems most probable, that the *Sadducees* rejected these Books, because they found them inconsistent with their Doctrine; for many Places of the Prophets and the holy Writings confirm evidently the Being of a future State and a Resurrection from the Dead. Some learned Men are of opinion that they did not reject the other Scriptures, but only gave a Preference to the five Books of *Moses* above them: But the Account which is given in the Gospels of the Disputes between Christ and these Hereticks, proves the contrary; for no other Reason can be given why He never produced any Arguments against them out of the Prophets and Hagiographa, where there were many not to be opposed, but drew all his Proofs from the Law only, but because they had rejected the Authority of those Scriptures, and believed wholly in the Books of *Moses*. The Harmony of this Sect with the *Samaritans*, in rejecting all Traditions, and receiving no Scriptures but the *Pentateuch*, has given occasion to the *Jews* to load the *Samaritans* with the Imputation of agreeing with them in denying the Resurrection from the Dead; whereas in this Article they are more sound than

than the *Jews* themſelves, and ſo continue to this Day. Chap. 23.

Another Branch of the *Sadducean* Hereſy related to Free-will and Predeſtination; for whereas the *Eſſenes* held all things to be predeterminated, and fixed in an unalterable Concatenation of Cauſes never to be varied from, and the *Phariſees* allowed a Free-will in conjunction with Predeſtination, the *Sadducees* differing from both, denied all manner of Predeſtination whatever; their Doctrine being, that God had made Man abſolute Maſter of all his Actions, with a full Freedom to do either Good or Evil, as he thought fit to chuſe, without any Aſſiſtance to him for the one, or any Reſtraint upon him as to the other: So that whether a Man does Good or Evil, it is wholly from himſelf; becauſe he has it abſolutely in his own Power to do the one, and avoid the other. It is their acting upon this Principle that has occaſion'd the Remark upon them, that whenever they ſate in Judgment upon Criminals, they always pronounced the ſevereſt Sentence againſt them. And indeed their general Character was, that they were a very ill-natur'd ſort of Men, churliſh and moroſe in their Behaviour to one another, but cruel and ſavage to all beſides. Their Number was the feweſt of all the Sects of the *Jews*; but they were uſually Men of the better Rank and Quality, who having the greateſt Opportunities of following a looſe and debauch'd Life, were ready to take Sanctuary in thoſe Opinions which moſt extinguiſh'd the Apprehenſion of an After-reckoning. For this Reaſon the *Sadducees* ever appeared moſt vigorous in preſerving the Peace, being the moſt implacable in their Puniſhment of all Tumults and Seditions, leſt they ſhould interrupt their ſoft and eaſy Courſe of Life, the only Happineſs their Principles allowed them to expect. This Sect ſeems to have periſh'd in the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*; for we find no mention of them

for many Ages after, till their Name was reviv'd again in the *Karraites*, whose Principles and Opinions this is a proper Occasion to describe.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Karraites.

THE *Karraites*, though by way of reproach they were called *Sadducees* by the other *Jews*, yet they agree with them in nothing else but in rejecting Traditions, and abiding only by the written Word; not that they absolutely reject all Traditions, but only deny them the same Authority with the written Scriptures: They admit them as humane Helps, of use to interpret the written Word, and regard them as the Opinions of former Doctors, but refuse to put them upon the same Level with the written Word, as the other *Jews* do. The voluminous Book of the *Talmud* contain'd a Collection of all their Traditions, to which they required the same Deference and Veneration to be paid as to the Scriptures themselves, founding all their Articles of Faith upon its Dictates, and regulating their Practice by its Directions and Precepts. This Book was publish'd about the Beginning of the sixth Century after Christ; but the Nonsense and fabulous Relations contained in it were at last detected by Men of Learning, who could not believe that such gross and incredible Stuff could be inspired by God; and therefore they could not give up their Faith to it. Their Belief they reserv'd wholly for the written Word, the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and admitted the other as a Work of humane Composition, proper to explain and interpret the Scriptures in such Passages where it should be found conducive to that purpose. This Dissent went on for some time, without making any Division among them, till, about the Year of Christ

seven

seven hundred and fifty, one *Anan*, a *Babyloniſh Jew*, of the Stock of *David*, and *Saul* his Son, both Men of Learning in their way, declared openly for the written Word, and publickly diſclaimed all manner of Traditions, except ſuch as manifeſtly agreed with it. This Oppoſition produc'd a Schiſm, one Party ſtanding up for the *Talmud* and its Traditions, the other rejecting both as the Inventions of Men. The Rabbis, and their Scholars and Followers, were chief Advocates for Traditions; from whence that Party obtained the Name of *Rabbiniſts*; and the other contending for Scripture only, had the Name of *Karraites*; for the Scripture in the *Babyloniſh* Language is call'd *Kara*. Under theſe two Names the Controverſy was carried on, and ſo continues to this Day. The *Jews* tell us that this Schiſm was wholly owing to the Ambition and Diſguſt of *Anan*; who being denied the Degree of *Gaon* (a Title to which their higheſt Doctors were promoted at that time) and being afterwards refuſed the Preſidentſhip of the Captivity at *Babylon*, which he claim'd as a Deſcendant from the Seed of *David*, in Revenge promoted this Diviſion among the People. This Sect is ſtill in being, and are eſteem'd to be Men of the beſt Learning and ſtricteſt Probity of all the *Jewiſh* Nation. There are very few of them, if any at all, in theſe Weſtern Parts: Moſt of them are to be found in *Poland*, *Ruſſia*, and the *Eaſtern* Countries; and, upon a Computation in the middle of the laſt Century, their Number appear'd to be between four and five thouſand, which make but a ſmall Number in reſpect of thoſe of the other ſide. Chap. 24.

CHAP. XXV.

The Essenes.

THE *Essenes* were a Sect originally of *Pharisaick* Extraction; but they reform'd upon them, and set up for a more severe and unblameable Rule of Life than the *Pharisees* did. They are supposed to begin in the Times of the *Maccabees*, above a hundred and fifty Years before the Nativity of Christ, after the violent Persecutions of *Antiochus* had forc'd great Numbers of the *Jews* to retire to the Woods and Mountains; though others derive them from the *Kenites*, whom they succeeded in dwelling in the Wilderness, and in Strictness and Austerity of Life. There is no very certain Account of the Original of their Name; but it seems to flow from the *Syriack* Word *Asa*, which signifies to heal or to cure Diseases; from whence they are so often called *Therapeutæ*. As to Fate and Free-will, their Opinion was for an absolute Predestination, without allowing to Man a Liberty of Choice in any of his Actions: And as to the Principles concerning a future State and Resurrection from the Dead, they affirmed that the Souls of Men were immortal, and to live eternally in Happiness or Pain, as their Actions deserved; but they should no more return to their own or any other Bodies for ever. We find no mention of this Sect in the *New Testament*; because, it is likely, they were an honest and sincere sort of People, and never concern'd themselves with Christ or his Apostles; yet it is the Opinion of many judicious Men, that our Saviour and St. *Paul* did sometimes allude to their Customs and Discipline. Their way of Life was very peculiar and remarkable; and to give a perfect View of it, it will be proper to take notice of what *Josephus*, *Philo*, and *Pliny*, relate of their Opinions and Practices.

These

These are the most ancient Authors who speak of this Sect, and are the Original of what all other have said concerning it. The Character given them by *Josephus* is as follows: Chap. 25. De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7.

The *Essenes* are by Nation *Jews*, the most united and friendly People one with another under the Sun. They have the same Aversion to Pleasure that they have to Vice, and reckon upon Continence and the Command of the Passions as a Virtue of the first rate. They have no great Reverence for Marriage; but for other People's Children that they take under their Care while they are young and tender, they value them as their own Flesh and Blood, and train them up accordingly. They are not yet against Marriage, as Enemies to the Race and Succession of Mankind; but they have an Opinion that the fair Sex is frail and intemperate, and hardly to be kept within the Compass of Fidelity to one single Man. As to the Matter of Wealth, and the Goods of this World, they have it all in contempt, and do not so much as know what it is to be rich or poor; for it lies all in common, as a Condition of the Society. By this means no Man shall be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich; but the whole Party shall live like Brethren, being all equal Sharers in one common Patrimony. They will not suffer any Oil to come upon their Bodies; or if such a thing should happen, they are never quiet till they get it out again. They value themselves upon the plain Simplicity of their Appearance, though never so coarse, provided only that their Garments be white and clean. They chuse their Stewards for the Receipt and Management of their Revenues out of the best Men they have, and leave it to their Discretion to make a Distribution of them to every Man in proportion, according to his Wants. They have no one certain Place of Abode, but disperse themselves up and down into several Cities, where they are ever ready and open to entertain all Comers of their own

Book II. own Sect, and as free as if they were at home, though they never saw one another in their Lives before. They carry nothing about them when they travel, but Arms for their Security against Thieves. In every City there is a principal Person appointed as Procurator, to take care of Strangers of that Sect, that they want neither Lodging, Food, Garments, nor other Necessaries. The Dress they wear resembles that of Children when they are under the Charge of Masters and Governors. They never change either their Garments, or their Shoes, but when the one is torn, and the other worn out. They neither buy nor sell among themselves, but help one another with what they want; and what one wants the other supplies, not by the way of exchange; but the one is obliged to give, and the other at liberty to receive.

They are the strictest People towards God of all Men living: They make a Conscience of speaking one Word of common Business before the Sun rises; but they have certain traditional Forms of Prayer for that Occasion, imploring particularly from God, that the Sun might shine upon them. After this Act of Devotion they are all dismiss'd to their several Tasks and Employments; and when they have studied and wrought hard till eleven at Noon, they meet again with linen Clothes thrown over them, and so wash themselves all over with cold Water. Upon this Purification they retire to their Cells, where no Mortal of any other Profession is allowed so much as to breath upon them; from thence they enter into the Refectory, or Dining-room, which they account little less holy than the Temple itself. When they have staid there awhile without a Word speaking, the Baker brings up every Man his Loaf, and the Cook every Man his Plate or Mess of Soup of the same sort, and sets it before him. The Priest then blesses the Meat, and not a Creature dares so much as touch it till the Grace be over: And so after Dinner another

Grace

Grace again; for they never fail to give God Thanks both before and after Meat, as the Author of the Bleſſing. This Duty being over they quit their Habits, as in ſome meaſure ſacred, and ſo to their ordinary Work till Evening. They go next to Supper, as before, where they ſit together, Gueſts and all, if they have any, at the ſame Table. There is no manner of Noiſe or Diſorder in thoſe Houſes: They ſpeak by Turns; and this way of Gravity and Silence gives Strangers a great Veneration for them. This is the Effect of a conſtant Courſe of Sobriety, in their Moderation of eating and drinking only to ſuffice Nature. Chap. 25.

They are not allowed to do any thing without the Advice of their Superiors, ſaving only in Offices of Aſſiſtance and Compaſſion, and there they are left at liberty; for every Man is free to help the Virtuous, and to relieve good Men in want: 'Tis true they are not allowed to give any thing to their Relations without Leave of their Governors. They are great Maſters of their Paſſions, Men of good Faith, Lovers of Peace, and their Word is at leaſt as ſacred as their Oath; for they do effectually look upon the taking of an Oath to be worſe than Perjury, and account of him for a Lyar, and a Man of no Credit, that cannot be believ'd without bringing in God for a Witneſs. They have a mighty Reverence for the Works and Writings of Antiquity, eſpecially in what concerns either the Good of Soul or Body; as in the Caſe of Remedies for Diſeaſes, the Virtues of Plants, Metals, Stones, Minerals, and the like.

When a Man has a mind to come into the Society, he is not immediately admitted, but they keep him out of the Pale for one whole Year, admitting all of the ſame Claſs of Novices into the ſame Order of Diet, giving every Man alſo a Pick-ax, a Girdle, and a white Garment, as aforeſaid. When a Man has been long enough among them to give ſome competent Proofs of his

Book II.

his Continence and Virtue, they change his Course of Diet, and allow him the Benefit of purifying Waters to wash himself. But he is not yet admitted to the Table in the Refectory, till he has stood a two Years Probation for his Integrity and good Manners; and upon that Trial he is taken into the Society. But before he is admitted as an establish'd Member of the Community, he is first to bind himself by solemn Execrations and Professions to love and worship God, to do Justice towards Men, to wrong no Creature willingly, no, nor to do it, though commanded; to declare himself an Enemy to all wicked Men, to join with all the Lovers of Right and Equity, to keep Faith with all Men, but with Princes especially, as they are of God's Appointment, and his Ministers. He is likewise to declare, that if ever he comes to be advanc'd above his Companions, he will never abuse that Power to the Injury of his Subjects, nor distinguish himself from his Inferiors by any Ornament of Dress or Apparel; but that he will love and embrace the Truth, and bring false Speakers to Justice. He binds himself likewise to keep his Hands clear from Theft and fraudulent Dealing, and his Soul as untainted with the Desire of unjust Gain; that he will not conceal from his fellow Professors any of the Mysteries of his Religion, nor communicate any of them to the Profane, though it should be to save his Life. And then for the Matter of his Doctrine, that he shall deliver nothing but what he hath received; that he will endeavour to preserve the Doctrine itself that he professes, the Books that are written of it, and the Names of those from whom he had it. These Protestations are made use of as a Test for new Comers, and as a Security to keep them fast to their Duty.

Upon the taking of any Man in a notorious Wickedness, he is excluded the Congregation; and whoever incurs that Sentence comes probably to a miserable End; for he that is tied up by

these

these Rites and Sacraments, is not allowed so much as to receive a Bit of Bread from the Hand of a Stranger, though his Life itself were in hazard: So that Men are driven to graze like Beasts, till the Flesh rots from the Bone. In this Distress the Society hath sometimes had the Charity and Compassion to receive some of them again, when they were at the very Point of Death, computing that the Punishment they suffer'd might in some degree atone for the Offence. Chap. 25.

In the Administration of Justice they are the most regular and exact People alive; they determine nothing but what is carry'd by a hundred Voices at least; and when the Judgment is once past, there is no recalling it. Next to the supreme Authority of God himself they reckon that of their Legislators, making it Death to speak ill of them, or to blaspheme them. They ascribe great Honour to their Elders, and to the Majority of the People, and think it very reasonable to obey the one and hearken to the other. When there are ten together in Council, no particular Person is to speak, if the other nine be against it. They make it a Matter of Immorality to spit toward the middle of the Company, or upon the right Hand.

They are the strictest Observers of the *Sabbath* of all sorts of *Jews*; for they do not only make ready their *Sabbath-Day's* Meal the Night before, to avoid kindling a Fire upon that Day; but they dare not so much as remove a Pot or a Dish from one Place to another, or ease themselves of the Necessities of Nature. Upon other Days, when they are pressed at any time to step aside, they take a Pick-ax, as I said before, and open the Ground a matter of a Foot deep: When they have discharged themselves, they fill up the Hole again, out of a superstitious Scruple not to pollute the Beams of the Sun with such an Object; and though there be no more in it than a natural Pur-

Purgation, it is yet followed with the Solemnity of a formal Purification.

The People that make Profeſſion of this manner of Life are divided into four ſorts, according to their reſpective Obligations; and the younger are reputed ſo much inferior to their Elders, that if they do but touch one another, they are obliged to purify, as if it were upon the Contact of a Stranger. They live to a great Age, a hundred Years and upwards many of them; which I aſcribe in a great meaſure to the Simplicity of their way of feeding, and to the Temperance of their Manners. They are firm and hardy againſt all Dangers, and reſolute to the Contempt of Torments; inſomuch that they account an honourable Death much more deſirable than Life itſelf. We need go no farther for the Proof of this Aſſertion than to the War between the *Jews* and the *Romans*. And upon ſeveral Occaſions what Torments did the *Jews* endure! as burning, breaking of Bones, and all manner of Pains, rather than let fall one irreverent Word of their *Legiſlator*, or touch one Morſel of forbidden Meat; but with a Chearfulneſs of Countenance, in the very Auguiſh of their Pains, defying and triumphing over their very Tormentors, and delivering up their Souls with a ſerene Conſtancy of Courage, in the Aſſurance of exchanging a preſent Life for a better to come. They firmly believe the Mortality of the Body; and that the Soul being of the ſame Subſtance with the ſubtileſt Air, is incorruptible and immortal, and by a kind of natural Inclination or Attraction ſhut up in the Fleſh as in a Priſon; but when it ſhall be freed from theſe corporeal Bonds, as out of a long Slavery, it ſhall then chearfully mount up to the Regions of endleſs Bliſs. This Opinion ſuits well enough with ſome Conceits of the *Greeks*, who fancy a Place beyond the Ocean, where there is neither Rain, nor Snow, nor raging Heat, but only gentle refreſhing Gales: And this do they make to be the Seat of

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the bleſſed Souls. As for the wicked Souls on the other hand, they ſtand condemn'd to impetuous Tempeſts, killing Froſts, and everlaſting Pains and Groans, World without end. Chap. 25.

This is much after the *Grecian* Story of the Fortunate Iſlands, which are the Places ſet apart for the Entertainment of thoſe glorious Spirits they call Heroes and Demigods. And then they have their Hell too, in the Deſcription of an infernal Pit, with Plagues and Puniſhments for ſuch as *Siſyphus*, *Tantalus*, *Ixyon*, *Tityus*, and the like, computing all this while the Soul to be immortal, from the natural Diſpoſition it hath to the Love of Virtue, and to the Deteſtation of Vice; for good Men are made better even in this World, by the hope of better things yet to come in another; beſide the Check that it puts to Impiety and Lewdneſs, when Men ſhall come to conſider, that though they may eſcape the Eye and the Stroke of humane Juſtice in this World, divine Vengeance will yet find them out in that to come, and puniſh them with Pains everlaſting. This is the Philoſophy of the *Eſſenes* upon the Subject of the Soul; and we find very few, when they have once imbib'd this Doctrine, that ever depart from it. There are among the *Eſſenes* alſo that take upon themſelves to foretel things to come, building their Confidence upon ancient Prophecies and holy Writ, and not without preparatory Sanctifications to fit them for the Work. But be it as it will, they ſeldom fail in their Predictions.

There is now another ſort of *Eſſenes*, agreeing with the former in the ſame Meats, Manners and Laws; but they are yet divided upon the point of Wedlock; for they look upon thoſe, that are directly againſt Marriage, as the profeſt Enemies of Mankind, that is to ſay, in cutting off the Succeſſion, and extinguiſhing the Race. Now if all People were of the ſame Mind, the World would quickly be at an End. But they proceed with this Caution yet; that the Woman muſt be ſubjected

Book II.

jected to a three Years Probation, and if she shall be found in a Condition of Health fit for Child-bearing, she shall be reputed, after that Tryal, qualified for Marriage. The Women are likewise to be covered when they wash, as the Men are. *So far Josephus in this Place.*

Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2.

The same Author in his Book of *Antiquities*, which he wrote some Years after, adds to the former Account in this manner. The *Essenes* ascribe the Government of the World to God's Providence, without any Exception: They hold the Immortality of the Soul, and celebrate Justice, both in Practice and Doctrine, as the sovereign Virtue. They send their Gifts to the Temple, without going thither themselves; for they offer their Sacrifices apart in a peculiar way of Worship, and with more Religious Ceremonies. As to their Conversation, they are Men of excellent Morals, and their whole Business in the World is Husbandry: They are eminent for their Justice beyond either *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, as a Virtue that hath been a long time their Application and Study. Their Goods are all in common, without any distinction of Rich and Poor among them: They have neither Wives nor Servants; for they look upon the one as an Encroachment upon the natural Liberty of Mankind, and the other as a Circumstance that carries Trouble and Uneasiness along with it; so that they chuse rather by a mutual Exchange of good Offices to help one another. This is their way of Life, and they reckon themselves to be upward of four thousand Souls in this Society. Their Treasurers and Commissaries are Men of Integrity, chosen from among their Priests; and it is their Care to make Provision out of the Fruits of the Earth for the feeding and maintaining the whole Body. They live upon the main much at the rate of the *Plisti* among the *Dacians*.

In libro cui titulus, omnis probus liber.

Philo the *Jew* is the next, or indeed the first that speaks of this Sect; for he wrote before *Josephus*, being by much the older of the two.

But

But *Josephus* was the better qualified to describe the Principles and Manners of the *Essenes*; because he convers'd among them in *Judæa*, and lived under their Discipline; and therefore his Account I chose to insert first; for *Philo* being a *Jew* of *Alexandria*, knew nothing of the *Essenes* of *Judæa* but by Report only: But with the *Essenes* of *Egypt* he was indeed better acquainted; for tho' the principal Seat of them was in *Judæa*, yet there were many of them in *Egypt*; and in other Places where the *Jews* were dispers'd; and therefore *Philo* distinguished this Sect into the *Essenes* of *Judæa* and *Syria*, and the *Essenes* of *Egypt* and other Parts: The first he called *Practical Essenes*, and the other he calls *Therapeutic* or Contemplative; and of each he gives the Account that follows. Chap. 25.

Among the *Jews* who live in *Palestine* and *Syria*, there are some whom they call *Essæans*, about the Number as I think of four thousand. Their Name is derived, upon the account of their Piety, from the *Greek* Word Ὅσιος, which signifies *Holy*, tho' the Derivation be not according to the exact Rule of Grammar; and as they are most Religious Worshippers of God, they sacrifice no living Creature to him; but rather aim to form their Minds into a State of Holiness, as a more proper Oblation to him. They chiefly live in Country Villages, and avoid Cities, by reason of the Vices that are familiar among Citizens, being sensible, that as it breeds Diseases to breath in a corrupt Air, so to converse with bad Company often makes an incurable Impression upon the Souls of Men. Some of them labour in Husbandry, others follow Trades and Manufacture, confining themselves to the making only of Utensils of Peace, endeavouring by that means to benefit themselves and their Neighbours. They do not scrape together Silver or Gold; nor do they affect to possess large Tracts of Land, out of a Desire of plentiful Revenues, but labour only to supply the Necessaries of Life. They are in a manner the only Persons living who are without Money,

and without Poſſeſſions, (and this by their own Choice, rather than by the want of good Fortune) and yet think themſelves rich, judging their Occaſions little, and that Contentment with any thing keeps them always in Poſſeſſion of Abundance. You ſhall not find among their Mechanicks who attempt to make Arrows, or Darts, or Swords, or Headpieces, or Corſlets, or Shields, or any Armour, or Engines, or any other Inſtruments whatſoever that are uſed in War; nor will they make ſuch Utenſils of Peace, as are apt to be employed in doing Miſchief.

Merchandizing, Trafficking, and Navigation, they never ſo much as dream of, rejecting them utterly as Motives to Covetouſneſs. There is no ſuch thing as a Servant among them; but they are all mutual Helps to one another: They condemn the Authority of Maſters over Servants, not only as unlawful and prejudicial to Piety, but alſo as impious and contrary to the Law of Nature; which, they ſay, brings forth and nouriſhes all Men alike, and as a common Mother has made them all Brothers; but that wicked Covetouſneſs deſtroying all Kindred, has produced Strangeneſs inſtead of Familiarity, and Enmity inſtead of Friendſhip.

As to Philoſophy, Logick they leave utterly to ſuch as quarrel about Words, eſteeming it uſeleſs for the Attainment of Virtue. Natural Philoſophy in all its Branches (except what concerns the Being of God, and the original Production of all things) they give up to thoſe who have time upon their Hands to treat of ſuch Matters; becauſe they think it above the Abilities of Man to arrive at a perfect Knowledge of them. But they conſult much with Ethicks or Moral Philoſophy; from whence they extract the Laws, which are ſuch as could never proceed from the Mind of Man, without the Aſſiſtance of divine Inſpiration. In this Study they read Lectures, but eſpecially upon the ſeventh Day; for this Day they eſteem holy, and deſiſt from all other Work upon it; and

and upon this Day they resort to their sacred Places called Synagogues, where they sit in Order according to their Seniority of standing in the Society, the Juniors being placed below their Seniors, and all composed with Decency to hear the Word. One takes the Bible and reads out of it, and then another of a superior Skill expounds what has been read, and what is above his Knowledge he passes by. Their manner of expounding consists chiefly in Parables, after the Method that has been anciently in use among them. They are inform'd in the Principles of Religion and Holiness, of Justice, Oeconomy, Politicks, in the Knowledge of what is morally Good and Evil, and what is indifferent, what is proper to chuse, and what to avoid; and they judge of every thing, as it agrees with the Love of God, with the Love of Virtue, and with the Love of their Neighbour. They give many Demonstrations of their Love to God; for instance, their constant and unalterable Chastity as long as they live, their abstaining from swearing and lying, ascribing to God the Cause of all Good, and never making him the Author of Evil: Of their Love to Virtue, they give Instances in their Hatred to Covetousness, Ambition and bodily Pleasure; in their Continence, their Patience, their Plainness, their wanting little, their Contentment with any thing, their Modesty, their Obedience to the Laws, their Stability of Mind, and other such Virtues: And of their Love to their Neighbour, they give Evidences in their Benevolence, in their Evenness of Behaviour, which is greater than can be well expressed, their having all in common, of which it will be proper in this Place to give a particular Account. Chap. 25.

No Man's House is properly his own; but every Member of the Society that shall come to it has an equal Interest in it; for as they live together in Sodalities, eating and drinking at the same common Table, so all the Fraternity that come from any other Place are certain to be received there. There is one common Treasury

Book II. that belongs to them all, from whence the Charge of Clothes and Provisions is furnish'd in common for all the Community, according to their several Sodalities into which they are distributed. Their way of living together under the same Roof, of eating of the same Meats, and sitting at the same Table, is such as is established in no other Place, or any thing like it. What they acquire by their daily Labour they have no Right to themselves, but deliver it all into the common Stock, from whence Provision is made for the Use and Benefit of the whole Society: And if any among them fall sick, he is not neglected as a Person unable to work; but they take all possible Care to recover his Health out of the common Stock, which they have Liberty to use as freely as they please. The Juniors pay great Reverence to the Elders of the Society, and regard them in such a manner as legitimate Children respect their Parents, assisting them with their Hands, and their Councils, and providing whatever may contribute to the Comfort and Support of their old Age.

De vitâ contemplativâ. Thus far is the Account of *Philo* relating to those he calls *Practical Essenes*; the Contemplative he describes in this manner.

Having spoken of the *Essæans* who lead a *Practical* Life, I come now to treat of those who embrace the Contemplative. The Men among them have the Title of *Therapeutæ*, and the Women *Therapeutides*, agreeable to their Profession, either as they profess the Art of Physick, (not that commonly practised, by which the Bodies of Men are cured, but a much more valuable Physick, which heals Diseases in the Souls of Men, much more obstinate and difficult to be removed, the Effects of wilful Voluptuousness, Concupiscence, Grief, Fears, Covetousness, Follies, Injustice, and an innumerable Train of other Passions and Vices) or else they have this Name, by learning from the Law of Nature, and the sacred Precepts of the holy Scriptures, to worship and serve that Being, who is better than Good, more uncompounded

pounded then the number of One, and more ancient than Unity itself. Chap. 25.

They who enter upon this *Therapeutic* Profession, are not induced to it by a prevailing Custom or the Persuasion of others; but being incited wholly by an heavenly Love, are under an Enthusiastic Impulse, resembling the *Bacchanals*, and *Corybantes*, in the Celebration of their Festivals, till they arrive at their desired State of Contemplation; and then, as if they had bid adieu to this mortal Life, and thirsted after Immortality and eternal Happiness, they leave all their worldly Goods and Possessions to their Sons and Daughters, or other Relations, and voluntarily put them into Possession of their Estates. If they have no Relations, they resign what they have to their Friends and Acquaintances; and when they have thus divested themselves of their worldly Substance, being wholly free from the Allurements of the present Life, they fly from their Homes, without ever looking back, leaving their Brothers, their Children, their Wives, their Parents, and all their Kindred, how numerous soever, and quit the Society of their Friends and Countrymen, among whom they were born and bred; because, should they continue with them, their Conversation would be a strong and powerful Motive to seduce them from their Purpose and Resolution.

They never leave one City to go to another, like profligate Servants, who, having prevailed with those that own them to be sold to some other Person, obtain only by that means the Change of their Masters, and not the Recovery of their Liberty. For all Cities, even such as are governed by the best Laws, are full of Disorder and Tumult, which these speculative Philosophers are not able to bear; and therefore they choose rather to abide without the Walls of Cities, in Gardens, and Villages, and solitary rural Habitations, admiring Retirement, not from an affected Hatred to Mankind, but to avoid conversing with

Book II. Men of different Manners, as a thing pernicious and unprofitable.

This Sect of Men are dispersed through many Parts of the World, (for *Greeks* and *Barbarians* should enjoy so excellent a Benefit) but they abound in *Egypt* and all its Provinces, and especially about *Alexandria*. But from all Places the principal of them retire, as into their own Country, into a Place near the Lake *Maria*, situated upon a gentle rising Hill, very commodious for affording them a safe Habitation, and also for the Wholesomness of the Air. Their Houses are built in a very frugal and mean manner, and are covered only for two necessary Reasons, to defend them from the Heat of the Sun in Summer, and from the Inclemency of the Air in Winter; neither are they built contiguous, as in Cities; for this would be troublesome and disagreeable to Men who affect Solitude: Nor are their Houses at a great distance; for at certain times they love to converse with one another, and by this means they are more ready to unite for their mutual Defence, when they should happen to be invaded by Thieves.

Each of them has in his Cottage a little Chappel, which they call *Semneum* or *Monasterium*, in which he performs alone all the Mysteries of a holy Life, never bringing with them either Drink or Meat, or any other Necessaries for the Support of the Body; but only the Law and the Divine Oracles of the Prophets, and Hymns, and Conveniences of the same Nature, by which Knowledge and Piety are increas'd and perfected. They have God in perpetual Remembrance; so that in their Dreams nothing but the Beauties and Excellencies of divine Powers dwell upon their Fancies, so that many of them in their Sleep and Dreams deliver excellent Sayings of divine Philosophy. Their constant Practice is to pray twice every Day, in the Morning, and in the Evening. When the Sun rises, they pray that God would give his Blessing upon the Day, that true Blessing which fills the Mind with heavenly Light: At the set-

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ting of the Sun, they pray that their Minds, no way influenced by their Senſes or ſenſible things, might by Reflection arrive at the Knowledge of the Truth. The Interval of time between Morning and Evening they ſpend in the Study and Contemplation of divine things; they excerciſe themſelves in the moſt holy Scriptures, and philoſophize upon them after their Country manner, and expound them allegorically; for they ſuppoſe that the Words are only Notes and Marks of ſome things of myſtical Nature, which are to be figuratively explained. Chap. 25.

They have among them the Writings of ſome Ancients, who were principal Leaders of their Sect, and have left them many Monuments of that Learning, which conſiſt in dark and ſecret Expreſſions, by which, as original Patterns, they direct their Study. They not only ſpend their time in Contemplation, but alſo in Praiſe of God; they compoſe Songs and Hymns of all ſorts of Metre, and Muſical Verſes, which they write in grave and agreeable Rhymes.

Six Days in the Week they continue apart by themſelves in the little Chappel abovementioned, and there give themſelves up wholly to the Contemplation of divine Philoſophy, and they do not ſtep out of Doors, or ſo much as look abroad all that time. Upon the ſeventh Day they meet together in a publick ſolemn Aſſembly, and there they ſit according to Seniority in a decent manner, with both their Hands under their Garments, the right laid upon the part between the Chin and the Breaſt, and the left let down by their ſide: Then one of the moſt eminent among them ſtands up, and diſcourſes with a grave compoſed Countenance and ſerious Voice; he ſtudies to ſpeak with Reaſon and Prudence, but avoids all Oſtentation of Eloquence, as the Rhetoricians and Sophiſts now do. His Inquiries and Expoſitions are made with that Exactneſs of Thought, as not only for the preſent captivates the Ears, but enters into the very Soul, and makes laſting Impreſſions upon it. While

this Perſon ſpeaks, all the Company attend with Silence, and expreſs their Approbation only with Motions of the Eyes and Head.

The Place of Aſſembly, where they meet every ſeventh Day, has two diſtinct Incloſures and Apartments in it, the one aſſigned for the Men, and the other for the Women; for it is a Cuſtom with them, that the Women who are of the ſame Sect and Inſtitution ſhould alſo be Auditors in theſe Aſſemblies. The Partition Wall which ſeparates theſe two Incloſures, is the height of three or four Cubits from the Ground, after the manner of a Parapet; the reſt lies open to the top of the Room: And this Contrivance ſerves for two Conveniencies, the one to protect that decent Modeſty which naturally belongs to the Female Sex, the other, that there might be nothing intervening between them and the Speaker, to hinder the Voice from coming to them.

Temperance is the Foundation upon which they build all other Virtues: They neither eat nor drink before the Sun is ſet; for the Day they think proper to employ in the Study of Philoſophy, and the Night in providing Neceſſaries for the Body. The whole Day is ſpent in the firſt; but a ſmall part of the Night ſerves for the latter. Some of them, who more than ordinarily thirſt after Knowledge, forget to take Suſtenance for three Days together, and are ſo delighted and fed with feaſting upon Wiſdom, which richly and plentifully flows in upon them, that ſometimes they hold out double the time, and ſcarce taſte of any neceſſary Food for ſix Days together, being ſupported (as they ſay a ſort of Graſhopper are) by the Air in which they live; the Melody of their Hymns, as I ſuppoſe, rendring the want of Food eaſy and ſupportable to them. They regard the ſeventh Day as all holy and Feſtival, and therefore think it worthy of extraordinary Honour. Upon that Day, after they have taken proper care of their Souls, they refreſh their Bodies, eaſing themſelves of their daily Labour, and allowing

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their Cattle the same Indulgence. They use no luxurious Diet, but only coarse Bread; their Sauce is only Salt, and they who are of a nicer Stomach mingle some Hyssop with it: Their Drink is only Water from the River. Thus they appease the two domineering Mistresses which Nature has placed over all Mankind, that is, Hunger and Thirst, offering nothing to gratify them, but what is necessary to support Life; for they eat only to assuage Hunger, and drink only to extinguish Thirst, avoiding a Fulness of Stomach, as pernicious to Soul and Body. Chap 25.

And whereas the Body requires two sorts of Coverings, that is, a House and Clothes, it has been observ'd before, that their Houses were mean and built without Art, made only to answer the present necessary Uses: And as to their Clothes, they are contrived purposely to keep out Cold and Heat, and consist of a coarse thick Garment, instead of Furs, in the Winter, and a short Coat without Sleeves, or a linen Vestment, in Summer. They universally exercise themselves in Modesty, and looking upon Falsity as the Mother of Arrogance, and Truth the Mother of Modesty, they conceive each of them to be of the Nature of a Fountain: There flow, say they, from Falsity many various sorts of Evils, and from Truth abundance of Good both humane and divine.

So far *Philo*, who is likewise very prolix in describing the Behaviour of the *Essenes* at their great Festivals; but being already so long upon this Subject, no more shall be transcrib'd from this Author in this place.

What *Pliny* relates of this Sect is to this purpose: On the Western side of the Lake *Asphaltites* dwell the *Essenes*, seating themselves inwardly from it, to avoid the Shore as prejudicial to them. They are the only sort of Men, and in this above all the World to be admired, that live without Women, without the Use of Copulation, without Money, feeding upon the Fruit of the Palm-tree. They are daily supplied by the Resort of new lib. 15. cap. 17.

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Comers to them in a number equal to those they lose, many flocking to them whom ill Fortune has made weary of the World, and forced to take shelter in their Institution and manner of Life. And thus for several thousands of Years (it's incredible to be said) this People is perpetually propagated, without any being born among them; so fruitful and prolifick to them is the Repentance of others, as to their Lives past.

CHAP. XXVI.

Herodians, Publicans, *and* Galileans.

THERE was another Sect among the *Jews* called the *Herodians*, so called from *Herod* the Great, King of *Judea*; but for what reason they received their Name is not so easy to find. Many of the Antients suppose it was because they held *Herod* to have been the *Messiah*. But it is improbable that any *Jews* should in the time of our Saviour's Ministry, above thirty Years after the Death of *Herod*, imagine him to have been the *Messiah*, who, instead of fulfilling, directly opposed the Predictions which the *Messiah* was to accomplish. Others speak of the *Herodians* as if they constituted a *Sodality* in the Honour of that Prince, in the same manner as such Societies were set up in *Rome*, called *Augustales*, *Adrianales*, *Antonini*, in the Honour of *Augustus*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and the like of other *Roman* Emperors after their Death. But none of these Sodalities being instituted at *Rome* till long after the Death of *Herod*, none such could have been form'd in Honour of him, in Imitation of them. What is mention'd of these *Herodians* in the Gospels, plainly intimates that they were a Sect among the *Jews* differing from the rest in some Points of their Law and Religion. They had a peculiar Leaven, as the *Pharisees* had; which

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being call'd the *Leaven of Herod*, argues that he was the Author of those Doctrines which constituted this Sect; and that his Followers, who were chiefly his Courtiers and Officers of his Palace, and fell in with him in the Tenets he embraced, were therefore called *Herodians*. Now *Herod* being a Stranger, and having by the *Roman* Power usurp'd the Kingdom, and afterwards govern'd it tyrannically, became generally hateful to his People; so that, besides the Assistance of a foreign Power, he wanted some to join in his Interest who were Natives. These were peculiarly active in pressing the People to pay Tribute to *Cæsar*, *Herod* being obliged by the Charter of his Sovereignty to be careful of the Tribute due to the *Romans*. And they could not do him a more acceptable Service, than by this means endearing him to his great Patrons at *Rome*. This was the political Principle of the *Herodians*, in opposition to the *Pharisees* and other *Jews*, who held it unlawful to submit to the Power of the *Romans*, or to pay Taxes to them. In Matters of Religion they appear to have been *Sadducees*; for what St. *Matthew* calls the *Leaven of the* Sadducees, St. *Mark* styles the *Leaven of* Herod. They asserted in Favour of this Prince, that it was lawful, when overpower'd by Superiors, to comply with them in idolatrous and wrong Practices of Religion; for *Herod*, to ingratiate himself with *Augustus*, acted in many things contrary to the Law of the *Jews*, and urged in his Defence, that he was forced to it by the Powers above him. Upon this account he was called a half *Jew*; and of such a Character were the *Herodians* his Followers: They were a sort of *Occasional Conformists*, who profess'd the *Jewish* Religion, and at the same time, upon Occasions, they complied with the Idolatry of the Heathens. This Sect vanished after the time of our Saviour, and was no more heard of.

Chap. 26.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap 12

This seems to be a proper Place to say something of the *Publicans*, who were Persons of no particular Sect, nor of any religious Function, but

but were certain publick Officers employ'd by the *Romans* to collect their Tributes, Tolls, and Impofts; which Office was formerly of great Account and Reputation among the *Romans*, and confer'd upon none leſs than the Equeſtrian Order; but afterwards falling into the Hands of inferior Farmers, and the worſt of the Natives, it became baſe and infamous. But two things eſpecially concur'd to render this Office odious to the *Jews*: Firſt, The Perſons who manag'd it were uſually covetous, and great Exactors; for having themſelves farmed the Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, they generally uſed all manner of Oppreſſion and Extortion to enable them both to pay their Rents, and to raiſe Advantage to themſelves. And upon this Account they became infamous even among the *Gentiles* themſelves, who frequently ſpeak of them as Cheats, and Thieves, and publick Robbers, and worſe Members of a Community, more voracious and deſtructive in a City than wild Beaſts in a Foreſt. Secondly, Theſe Tributes were not only a Grievance to the Purſes of the *Jews*, but alſo an Affront to the Liberty and Freedom of their Nation; for they look'd upon themſelves as a free-born People, and that they had been immediately inveſted in this Privilege by God himſelf, and accordingly beheld this as a daily and ſtanding Inſtance of their Slavery, which of all other things they could leaſt endure. To which we may add, that theſe *Publicans* were not only oblig'd by the Neceſſity of their Employment to have frequent Dealings and Converſe with the *Gentiles*, which the *Jews* held unlawful and abominable; but alſo being generally *Jews* themſelves, they rigorouſly exacted theſe things of their own Brethren, and thereby ſeemed to conſpire with the *Romans* to entail perpetual Slavery upon their own Nation. Upon all which Accounts *Publicans* became ſo univerſally abhor'd by the *Jewiſh* Nation, that it was unlawful to do them any Office of common Goodneſs or Courteſy; nay, they held it no Sin to cozen or over-

reach

reach a *Publican*, and that with the Solemnity of an Oath. They might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them. They were looked upon as common Thieves and Robbers, and Money received of them might not be put to the reſt of a Man's Eſtate, it being preſumed to have been gained by Rapine and Violence. Nor were they admitted as Perſons fit to give Evidence in any Cauſe. They were ſo infamous, as not only to be baniſhed all Communion in the Matters of divine Worſhip, but to be avoided in all Affairs of Civil Society and Commerce, as the Peſts of their Country, Perſons of an infectious Converſe, and of as vile a Claſs as *Heathens* and *Sinners*, with whom they were generally ranked.

The *Galileans* were a particular Faction directly oppoſite to the *Herodians*, and were alſo called by the Name of *Gaulonites*. When *Quirinius* (called *Cyrenius* by St. *Luke*, according to the *Greek* way of writing) was Preſident of *Syria*, and the Country reduc'd in the Form of a *Roman* Province, there was a Tax raiſed and levy'd, which occaſion'd great Diſturbances among the *Jews*: And in oppoſition to this Tribute a Faction was headed by one *Judas* of *Galilee*, a turbulent and ſeditious Fellow, under a Notion of an univerſal Liberty, and that it was againſt the Law to acknowledge any King but God. But this Enthuſiaſt, with his *Galilean* Followers, was ſoon cut off and ſuppreſs'd.

BOOK

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

High Places, *used by the* Hebrews *for Divine Worship.*

TO dedicate peculiar Places for the Exercise of religious Rites, has been common to all Nations, and may be traced perhaps to the very Infancy of Mankind; and therefore, when the divine Writ speaks of *Cain* and *Abel*, that *they brought their Oblations*, the Expositions of learned Men generally add, *to the Place set apart for Divine Worship.* This probably was the reason why *Cain* did not immediately fall upon his Brother when his Offering was refused, because the Solemnity and Religion of the Place, and the sensible Appearance of the Divine Majesty, struck him with that reverential Awe, that he defer'd his villanous Design till he came into the Field, and there slew him. For the offering of their Sacrifices, no doubt, they had Altars erected, though we read not of them till after

P. Fag. in Gen. 4.

ter the Flood, when *Noah* built an Altar to the Lord, and offer'd Burnt-offerings upon it. *Abraham*, when he was called to the Worſhip of the true God, and *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, erected Places for Divine Worſhip (that is, Altars with their Septs and Encloſures) wherever they pitch'd their Tents, and that without any ſpecial Warrant from divine Appointment: *Jacob* in particular (ſays the learned Mr. *Mede*) vowed a Place for Divine Worſhip, by the Name of *God's Houſe*, where he would pay the Tithes of all that God ſhould give him. Lo here a Church endow'd! Chap. 1.

P. 340. laſt Edition.

Gen. 28. 19.

In the Patriarchal Times theſe Altars were generally built near ſome adjacent Grove of Trees, which, if Nature denied, were uſually planted by the Religious in thoſe Ages. When *Abraham* dwelt at *Beerſheba*, in the Plains of *Mamre*, he planted a Grove there, and called upon the Name of the everlaſting God. This, no doubt, was the common Chapel and Oratory whither himſelf and his Family were uſed to retire for publick Worſhip, as a Place infinitely convenient for ſuch religious Purpoſes. And indeed the antient Devotion of the World much delighted in Groves, in Woods, and Mountains, as well becauſe thoſe high Places are naturally fitted for Contemplation, as that the Silence and the Retiredneſs there raiſe a ſacred kind of Dread and Horror in the Mind of the Worſhipper. It is certain, that nothing was more antient in the Eaſt than Altars with Groves of Trees about them, which made the Place very ſhady and delightful in thoſe hot Countries. They are ſo often joined in Scripture, that it would be tedious to recite particular Inſtances. This Cuſtom is ſuppoſed to have been brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus* out of the Eaſt. And they planted the Trees ſo thick, and they were ſo large and ſhady, as to make the Place very dark and ſolemn; which affected the Devotioniſts with religious Fear and Reverence. By this means theſe Groves became the fitter for the Exerciſe of diabolical Rites, and for the Practice

Gen. 21. 33.

of

of those obscene and horrid Ceremonies that were used in them: For the *Gentile* Custom had made these Places proper to the infernal Gods, and antiently consecrated them as Sepulchres or Temples for their Heroes. That the *Israelites* therefore might be preserved from sacrificing to the Dead, and from abominable Lust and Lewdness, they were expressly forbidden to plant a Grove near to God's Altar, when his Worship came to be fix'd, nor so much as any Tree: For the Heathen thought there was a Sacredness in Trees themselves, which they dedicated to their Gods, and honoured with many particular Solemnities; and therefore the *Jews* say, that they were not allowed to plant Trees in the Court of the Temple, or in the Mountain of the House (as they call it) either for Ornament or Beauty: And they give this reason, because it was an idolatrous Rite to plant Trees near their Altars, and it might possibly corrupt the Minds of the People.

Deut. 16. 21.

But this Custom, tho' perverted to idolatrous Purposes, was innocent, and allowed at first, before God had fixed a Place for his publick Worship; for the most learned *Jews* are of opinion that it was lawful to offer Sacrifices in the Groves and High Places, till the Tabernacle was built. Before the Tabernacle was first set up (says the *Talmud*) High Places were permitted, and the Service was done by the First-born; but after the Tabernacle was erected, High Places were prohibited, and the Service was perform'd by the Priesthood. And *Maimonides* asserts, that, during the time wherein the Land of *Canaan* was subdued, it was allowed to sacrifice in the High Places, and elsewhere than at the Tabernacle; because in that time they were abroad in the Wars, and their Condition was unsettled. And some imagine that the High Places might be lawfully used till the building of the Temple: But when that was built, and the Ark of God's Presence no longer remov'd, it was criminal, they say, to sacrifice any longer in Groves

In Zevachin. per 14.

In Bethhabbech, per. 1.

or

or High Places, or use them any way in religious Worship. But this Indulgence (if there were any such, which may be justly question'd) must be understood of Hills and Mountains that were not profaned by the Idolatry of the *Gentiles*; for those the *Israelites* were obliged to destroy wherever they met with them, and no Relick or Memorial of them was to be left: Their Altars and Pillars were to be broken in pieces, their Groves burnt, and their graven Images, the supposed Habitation of their Dæmons, to be hewn down, that all Opinion of the Sanctity of such Things might be utterly erased, and the Memory of them extinguish'd. But this Precept, tho' the Expression be general, is restrained by some of the *Hebrews* to the Land of *Canaan* only, and they fancied that in other Countries which they conquer'd, they were not bound to extirpate the false Worship of the Inhabitants; yet afterwards they found it necessary to extend this Injunction to all idolatrous Countries, where they destroy'd their Idols as they had done in *Canaan*, lest, as *Josephus* observes, by Imitation their Polity should have been quite subverted.

As the *Israelites* were commanded to abolish the *Pagan* Religion of the Countries they subdued; so they were forbidden to serve God upon Mountains, or in Groves, or under green Trees, after he had set apart a Place where he resolv'd to be worshipp'd. He often declared, that when they were fixed in the Possession of the Holy Land, he would make choice of a Place where he would more immediately cause his Name to dwell; yet the particular Place he left undetermin'd. And the Reason is supposed to be, lest every Tribe should desire to have it in their Lot, and Contentions should arise among them about it. This Place at first seems to have been *Mizpeh*, and afterwards *Shilob*; and when that was destroy'd, the Ark removed to several Places, till at last it settled at *Jerusalem*. And when God had once made known where he would particularly take up his Resi-

dence, thither the People were obliged to bring their Sacrifices and Oblations, and there to perform divine Worſhip; then the Groves and High Places were no more to be frequented for ſacred Purpoſes: And if by chance they ſhould find a Place whoſe Situation appear'd exceeding beautiful and ſolemn, they were not to be captivated with the Sight of it, but expreſly forbidden to ſacrifice or uſe any religious Rites there. So that if the High Places were uſed after their Settlement in the Land of *Canaan*, it was a Practice directly contrary to the Law; but perhaps it might be indulg'd. If it was, it is certain that this Connivence proved in time a great Miſchief; for on theſe Mountains and Hills they firſt began to worſhip ſtrange Gods, the *Iſraelites* being very prone to ſet up their Images in high and ſhady Places, as the Eaſtern People about them did. But tho' when the Ark was ſettled it became unlawful to offer Sacrifices in High Places; yet ſome learned Men are of Opinion that it was no Offence to reſort thither for publick Prayer and Praiſe, and for Inſtruction in the Law: And particularly Mr. *Thorndike* conceives that theſe High Places were the Foundation of Synagogues and publick Schools among the *Hebrews*.

Relig. Aſſemb. p. 29.

It appears, that the Places originally uſed by the *Hebrews* for divine Worſhip were generally Groves growing upon Hills and Mountains, where they built Altars, and ſacrificed to the true God, and perform'd other Acts of Solemnity and Devotion; but when the Tabernacle was erected, there was no great occaſion to have recourſe to theſe Places for religious Purpoſes. And it is thought, that during the Stay of the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs all Sacrifices were offer'd at the Door of the Tabernacle, which was not far from them; tho' perhaps when they came into *Canaan*, and were remote from the Tabernacle, they might take up with the old Cuſtom of worſhipping in High Places, where they had Prieſts who officiated regularly, and according to the Precepts of the Law.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Tabernacle *erected by* Moſes, *its Form and Dimenſions.*

BEFORE the great and glorious Tabernacle was erected, *Moſes* made a Tabernacle, called by the Seventy his *own Tent*, and pitch'd it without the Camp. In this publick Tent he gave Audience, heard Cauſes, and inquired of God. Here all great Affairs were tranſacted, and in all probability Sacrifices were offer'd, and all religious Offices perform'd. This was called the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*, which was the Name appropriated to the Tabernacle that was afterwards built only for divine Service. Here God converſed with *Moſes*, and communicated his Mind to him; and the *Schechinah*, as a Token of the Divine Preſence, ſtood before the Door of it. Exod. 33. 7.

The Shape and Dimenſions of this Tabernacle are no where expreſs'd; nor was it of much Importance, ſince it was to be of no long Duration, and to be ſupplied by another, whoſe Form and Fabrick was deſign'd by the divine Artificer himſelf. God was pleaſed to deſcend upon Mount *Sinai* in a Cloud, and there he admitted *Moſes* into his Preſence, and gave him the two Tables of Stone, and (as it is ſuppoſed) the Gift of Prophecy, with Directions for making this magnificent Tabernacle, and for performing the Divine Service belonging to it. For this purpoſe he ſhew'd him a Model (as we now ſpeak) of the Houſe he was to make, and of every thing that was to be uſed about it: And this Scheme or Draught was repreſented ſo lively and diſtinctly, and in its juſt Proportion, that it was impoſſible for him to fail in the copying of it. This Sanc-

Book III. tuary, or Holy Place, was not ſhewn to *Moſes* merely in a Picture; much leſs was the Idea of it only impreſs'd upon his Mind, but a viſible Structure was ſet before him as a Pattern for him to imitate. And therefore it is a ridiculous Fancy to ſuppoſe that *Moſes* projected this Tabernacle and its Utenſils after the Faſhion of what he had obſerved in *Egypt*, and was in uſe among other Nations, to whoſe Religion he propoſed to conform, as far as might be ſafely allow'd; and, particularly, as if he built this Structure to be carried upon the Shoulders of the Prieſts, as the Tabernacle of *Moloch* was. Nothing ſeems to be more remote from the Intention of *Moſes*, or rather from the Directions which the great Architect gave him, than this wild Conceit. He had a more divine Guide than the *Egyptians*, and rais'd his Fabrick by a heavenly Pattern, and not by the Modes of the idolatrous *Gentiles*. And the *Jews* were ſo poſſeſſed of this Opinion, that when the Temple came to be built inſtead of the Tabernacle, they ſay it was done by conſulting the Oracle, and by the ſolemn Decree of the King, and of the great *Sanhedrim*, and of the Prophets.

The Plan of this Structure being deſign'd by God, the Materials were provided by the People. Every one brought his Oblation according to his Ability: Thoſe of the firſt Quality offer'd Gold; thoſe of a middle Condition brought Silver, and Braſs, and *Shittim* Wood; and the Offerings of the meaner Sort conſiſted of Yarn and fine Linen, Goats Hair, and Skins. Nor were the Women backward in contributing to this Work; for they willingly brought in their Bracelets, and Ear-rings, and other Ornaments; and ſuch of them who were skilful in ſpinning, made Yarn and Thread.

The Dimenſions of this Tabernacle are thus ſtated. It was in Length thirty Cubits, that is, fifteen Yards; for the Cubit by which this Fabrick and the Temple are meaſured was but half a Yard, or the common Cubit, and not the Cubit of the Sanc-

tuary,

tuary, or holy Cubit, which was a full Yard. Twenty Planks of a Cubit and a half Breadth made one Side, or the Length of it; and it was ten Cubits broad. These Planks were certainly of a considerable Thickness, perhaps of nine Inches each; for it is said, that in the fastning of the Sides of the Tabernacle, a Bar of *Shittim* Wood ran through the Thickness of the Boards as they stood edging one to another. Now this Bar was no small one, for it was the principal Strength of the Side, and therefore must have a large Hole bored to run through; and consequently it must be a thick Plank that would bear such a Hole, and not an Inch or two Inch Board. Let us conceive therefore an unequal Square, or a Plot of Ground of thirty Cubits, or fifteen Yards, long, and of ten Cubits, or five Yards, broad; such was the Compass of the Tabernacle between Wall and Wall. The Foundation consisted of massy Pieces of Silver, towards which every *Israelite* from twenty Years old, and upward, was obliged to contribute half a Shekel. As to other things, they were not bound to any particular Sum, but to offer what they pleased. This was an Act of Homage to God, and an Atonement by which they preserved their Lives; which made every Man, tho' never so poor, endeavour to raise it, tho' he sold his Clothes to get it: And he that fail'd to pay this Tribute (whether Priest or *Levite*, *Israelite* or Stranger) was separated from the Congregation, and not included in the Expiation, that is, received no Benefit from the expiatory Sacrifices. This half Shekel was a Tax that was continued in After-times for the Reparation of the Tabernacle, and afterwards of the Temple, and was raised for the Support of the daily, weekly, monthly, and annual Sacrifices; and for providing Salt, and Wood, and Shew-bread, and other Necessaries for divine Service. The priestly Garments also were provided out of this Money. And if any thing remained at the end of the Year, after all these Charges were defray'd,

Chap. 2.

Book III. it was spent in extraordinary Burnt-Offerings, which were called the *second Sacrifices of the Altar*. The number of the *Israelites* upon this occasion, and above such an Age, were six hundred thousand, and three thousand five hundred and fifty Men. Now let us consider that the Talent of the Sanctuary contain'd one hundred and twenty Pound, the Pound twenty five Shekels, or fifty half Shekels; so that every Talent contained three thousand Shekels, or six thousand Halfs: So that six hundred thousand half Shekels, given by six hundred thousand Men, do amount to a hundred Talents. There were three thousand five hundred and fifty Men besides, who gave so many half Shekels, or a thousand seven hundred seventy five whole ones, which were laid out upon Hooks, and Chapiters, and Fillets about the Pillars. The hundred Talents were used in this manner: Each of them was cast into a solid Piece of thirteen Inches and a half long, and nine Inches square. In the Side that laid upward was a Morteise-hole near to the End: now two and two were laid close together, End to End, and the Morteises were not in the Ends that joined, but in the utmost Ends. Every Plank of which the Sides were made was in Height five Yards, but in Breadth three Quarters, just as broad as two of these Pieces of Silver were long. At the Foot of the Plank, at either Corner, was a Tenon made, the Plank being cut down, or abating so much between the Tenons as the Tenons themselves were in Length; so that when the Tenons were shrunk in the Morteises, the middle of the Plank settled upon the Pieces or Bases.

These Silver Bases then were placed thus; forty at the South Side, forty at the North Side, and sixteen at the West End, laid as close together as was possible; so that tho' there were so many Pieces, yet was it but one entire Foundation. Here are fourscore and fifteen of the hundred Talents disposed of in the two Sides and the West End:

What

What became of the five Talents remaining, and of the East End, will be hereafter observed. Chap. 2.

These Bases thus laid, the Planks that were overlaid with thin Plates of Gold were set in them, one Plank taking up two Bases, twenty Planks making the South Side, and twenty the North, and eight the West End. These were five Yards long a-piece; and so when they were set up, they made the Tabernacle five Yards and a little more high upon the Walls. Now to make these Planks stand firm and sure, the two Corner Planks were great Helps, of which first you remember the Length of the Sides, namely, fifteen Yards, or twenty Planks, each of three Quarters Breadth. The West End had six Planks entire, besides a Plank at either Corner joining End and Sides together. These Corner Planks were of the same Breadth that all the other were, and thus set: The middle of the Breadth of the one Plank was laid close to the End of the South Side, or to that Plank that was furthest West; so that a Quarter of a Yard of the Breadth of the Corner Plank was inward. To make up the Breadth of the Tabernacle, a Quarter was taken up with the Thickness of the Side-plank to which it joined, and a Quarter lay outward. Thus at the South-West, and so it was at the North West Corner, the two Corner-planks were inward a Quarter of a Yard a-piece, and the six Planks that stood between them of three Quarters each, which make five Yards, the exact Breadth of the House between Wall and Wall. These Corners joined End and Side together, and were the Strength of the Building. Besides these Corners strengthning the Fabrick, there were seven Bands to make all sure. First, Planks to Planks were close jointed at the Foot. Secondly, Each Plank was linked to the next at the Top with a golden Link. Thirdly, On the Side Staples of Gold were fasten'd in every Plank; so that four Bars of *Shittim* Wood over-laid with Gold were carried in the Staples from one end of the Tabernacle to the other.

Book III. Of what Length they were it is not said; but *Josephus* asserts they were each five Cubits. Besides these, there was also another Bar of the same Wood that ran from End to End through the Body or Thickness of the Planks, a Hole being bored through each Plank for that purpose. Now the Body of the Tabernacle, as it was only planked with *Shittim* Wood, without any more Addition, stood thus. The Length from End to End was fifteen Yards; the Breadth was five Yards from Side to Side. The Sides and West End were plank'd up five Yards high, and somewhat more; and the Foundation of those Planks was massy Pieces of Silver. The East End was left open; the Top, and Sides, and West End were cover'd.

The Tabernacle was bounded with Curtains, being lightest for Carriage, which cover'd the Top and Sides. These Curtains were Tapestry-work; the Ground was of fine Yarn dyed Blue, Purple, and Scarlet woven together: The Embroidery was of Pictures of Cherubims. These Curtains were in number ten; each being twenty eight Cubits, or fourteen Yards, long, and four Cubits, or two Yards, broad. They sewed together five Curtains in one Piece, and five in another; so that they made two large Pieces of Tapestry of fourteen Yards long, and ten Yards broad. These two Pieces were called *Couplings*, and were thus joined together: In the Edge of either were made fifty Loops of blue Tape, one answerable to another, or one over against another; and with fifty Hooks or Clasps of Gold the Loops were linked together, so that the two main Pieces were made one Covering. Now if it should be asked why the ten Curtains were not sewed together into one Piece, but five and five, to make two Pieces, which yet were joined together by Clasps, it must be observ'd, that the Tabernacle consisted of two Parts, the Holy Place, and the Most Holy; which two were divided one from another by a Veil. Now according to this

Division

Chap. 2.

Diviſion of the Structure was alſo the Diviſion of the Curtains; for it is certain that the Veil which parted the Holy from the moſt Holy was hung exactly under theſe golden Claſps that joined the five and five Curtains together; ſo that five Curtains lay over the Holy Place, and the other five over the moſt Holy: But with this Difference, the Holy Place was ten Yards long, and the five Curtains ſewed together were juſt ſo broad, and ſo they cover'd only the Top and Sides, but hung not down at the End, which was Eaſtward; but the moſt Holy was but five Yards long, ſo that the five Curtains did not only cover the Top, but alſo hung down at the Weſt End to the Silver Baſes. Now let us meaſure the Curtains again, and imagine them thrown length-way over the Tabernacle. They were fourteen Yards long, and twenty Yards broad, when they were all ſewed and looped together. This Breadth cover'd the Length of the Building, which was fifteen Yards, and it hung down behind the Weſt End, even to the Foundation. The Eaſt End was ſtill left open. Of the Length of them, five Yards were taken up in covering the flat Top of the Fabrick, which was five Yards broad between Wall and Wall; a Quarter of a Yard was taken up on either Side with covering the Thickneſs of the Planks: ſo that on either Side they hung down four Yards and one Quarter, which was three Quarters of a Yard ſhort of the Silver Foundation, or little leſs.

To remedy this Defect, and likewiſe to preſerve the rich Curtains from the Weather, were made Curtains of Goats Hair, eleven in number. This requir'd a great deal of Skill; for tho' Goats were ſhorn in thoſe Countries, as Sheep are here, yet it was very difficult to work it into a Thread, and to make Stuff of it. Each of theſe Curtains was two Yards in Breadth, as was the Breadth of the other; but being one Curtain more than the other, they were two Yards broader when they were coupled together. Each Curtain was thirty

ty Cubits, or fifteen Yards long, and consequently a Yard longer than those spoken of before. These were sewed six together in one Piece, and five in another; and these two main Pieces were linked together with fifty Clasps of Brass, as the other were with fifty of Gold. But when these Curtains were laid upon the other over the Tabernacle, they were not placed so as if these brasen Loops lay just upon the Golden ones over the Veil, but three Quarters of a Yard more Westward: So that the five Curtains that went West did reach to the Ground, and half a Curtain to spare. The other six that lay East reach'd to the Ground, and cover'd the Pillars upon which the Veil at the East End hung, and descended half the Breadth of a Curtain, or a Yard over the Entrance. Their Length of fifteen Yards reach'd half a Yard lower on either Side than the other Curtains did; and yet they came not to the Ground by a Quarter of a Yard: so that the Silver Foundations were always plain to be seen every where but at the West End.

Thus had the Tabernacle two Coverings of Curtains, yet for more Security there was a third added, to be laid over the other two; and this was made of Rams Skins dyed red, or, as some fancy, of red Rams Skins, for such there were in the Eastern Countries that were naturally of that Colour. It is not said of what Dimensions this Covering was, and therefore some have imagin'd that it cover'd only the Roof; but it is more reasonable to think it was as large as the Curtains of Goats Hair, which might have been spoiled with Rain and Dust, if the Sides had not been defended with as much Care as the Roof was. Above this there was yet a fourth Covering for the greater Security of the two inmost Curtains, which required all this Defence, especially on the Roof, which was flat, and consequently the Rain was more likely to soak into it. This was made (according to our Interpretation) of Badgers Skins; but the antient Interpreters take the Word in the Original

Original to signify rather a *Colour* than a *Badger*, or any other Animal; and therefore this Covering is supposed to be made likewise of Rams Skins dyed of a kind of Violet or Purple Colour.

Whenever this Tabernacle was set down, it was always pitched East and West, as our Churches stand; but with this Difference, that the chiefest Place in it, which was the holiest of all, answering to our Chancels, stood Westward; and the People worshipp'd with their Faces that way, because they would not imitate the Heathen, who worshipp'd toward the Sun-rising. The Entrance therefore into this Tabernacle was at the East End of it, before which there hung a Curtain of blue Silk, and purple and scarlet, and fine twined Linen wrought with Needle-work. Besides this, *Josephus* says there was another Veil of Linen, to defend it from the Injury of the Weather, which was usually drawn aside upon publick Festivals, that the People might see the Beauty of this first Veil. And indeed it is very probable that some Curtain or other was, in bad Weather at least, hung before it to secure it, as the Covering of Skins was over the Hangings of the Tabernacle. This Curtain hung by Golden Hooks upon the Outsides of five Pillars of *Shittim*-Wood, which seem to have been disposed in this manner: Two of them were placed at each Corner, which, if they took up a Cubit, then the other three, being placed at an equal Distance, made four Spaces, each of two Cubits, that is, a Yard wide, through which the Priests enter'd when they went to minister in the Sanctuary. Upon each of these Pillars stood a Chapiter, which was gilt. The Pillars themselves had Fillets or Hoops of Gold about them in several Parts of them, and they stood upon Bases of Brass.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Holy Place *with its Furniture described*; *the* Table of Shew-Bread; *the* Golden Candleſtick; *the* Altar of Incenſe.

SUCH was the Form on the Outſide of this Tabernacle: Within it was divided into two unequal Parts, that were ſeparated from each other by a Veil; the one was called the *Holy Place*, which was next the Entrance, and was ten Yards in length. The other was called the *Moſt Holy Place*, and was in Length five Yards. The Furniture of the Holy Place was the *Shew-bread Table*, the *Golden Candleſtick*, and the *gilded Altar*, or the *Altar of Incenſe*.

Upon the right Hand of the Prieſt, as he walked up the Holy Place, was the Table of *Shewbread*, or Bread of the *Preſence* (for it was ſet before the Ark in the Preſence of God) of this Form and Matter, and for this End. A Table-Frame was made two Cubits long, and a Cubit broad, and a Cubit and a half high; the Matter of it was Shittim-wood. This was a Tree which grew in the Deſart of *Arabia* only, out of which Boards might be cut of a great Breadth, exceeding ſtrong, and of incredible Firmneſs, Smoothneſs, and Beauty. It was overlaid with pure Gold, the lower Parts as well as the upper, and the Feet alſo were plated with Gold. Equal with the Top of the Frame was a Border of Gold, curiouſly wrought, of a Hand-breadth, the higher Edge equal with the Top of the Frame, and the Border ſo broad below. Upon the higher Edge of this Border was ſet a golden Crown, which went quite about the Frame, and within the Crown was the Cover laid. At each Corner, or Foot, was faſtned a Staple, or Ring of Gold, cloſe

close by the lower Edge of the golden Border. As the Feet, so these Rings were four, wherein were put Staves of Shittim-wood gilt with Gold, to bear the Table. Chap. 3.

Upon this Table were twelve Loaves, or Cakes, called the *Shew-Bread*, or the *Bread of the Presence*; because it was set before the Ark of the Covenant where God was present. These Loaves were prepared by the *Levites*, and were twelve in Number, to represent the twelve Tribes of *Israel* as continually under the Care of divine Providence. Nor was this Number diminish'd after the Apostacy of ten Tribes from the Worship of God at the Tabernacle; but still twelve Cakes were set before the Lord; because there was a Remnant of true *Israelites* among them. And this was a constant Testimony against these Apostates, and served as an Evidence that they ought to return to the proper Place for divine Worship, where alone they were assured their Sacrifices would be accepted. Each Cake had in it two Omers of fine Flower, which Measure is thought to be significative; for so much *Manna* did every *Israelite* gather against the *Sabbath* in the Wilderness. These Loaves were placed in two Rows one upon another, as the *Hebrew* Writers expound it; who say also that they were placed lengthwise cross over the Breadth of the Table. Under the lowest Cake was a golden Dish, wherein that Cake lay; and between every Cake was a golden Dish. Upon the Top of each Row lay a golden Dish whelmed down, and upon that stood a Dish of Gold with Frankincense in it. There were likewise Spoons, and Covers, and Bowls, belonging to this Table all of Gold; but it is not so easy to determine their several Uses: Yet it is commonly thought that the Spoons were design'd to fill the Dishes with Frankincense, and to take it out; the Covers were set over the Loaves and the Frankincense; and the Bowls served as proper Furniture for a Table: But here being no Drink they were not used. The Shew-Bread 1 Kings 30 18.

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Book III.

was prepared the Evening before; and then on the *Sabbath* the old Loaves and Frankincense, that had stood all the Week before, were fetcht away, and new put in their room: The Frankincense was burnt as an Oblation, and the Bread was given to the Priests, who, as God's Servants, had a Right to eat of the Bread which came from his Table, and which they were obliged to eat in the Holy Place, and no where else.

Over-against this Table on the South Side, or on the left Hand, stood the *Golden Candlestick*, of one massy Piece. This was another necessary Piece of Furniture for a House, especially when there were no Windows in it: The main Body or Trunk of it was of solid Gold, which went up streight, and ended in the middle Light; near the Foot was a golden Dish wrought Almondwise; and a little above that a golden Knop; and above that a golden Flower. There is no mention in Scripture of the Foot of this Candlestick; but without question it was proportionable to the rest: Nor is there any thing said of the Length of the Shaft, or Trunk; but it is supposed it was near double the Height of the Table, and of the Altar of Incense, which made it look majestically, and yet did not raise it so much as to endanger the Roof of the Tabernacle. Out of the Trunk there issued two Branches, on either Side one, which were carried from the Body with such an equal Bending so as to be brought streight, and raised as high as the middle Shaft out of which they proceeded. Upon each of these Branches were wrought three golden Cups in the Figure of an Almond, into which perhaps the Snuff was to fall; and between every one of them was there a Knop and a Flower; and upon the Top there was a Socket, in which the Light was to be set. This was the manner of the two lowest Branches. Above these, in the middle Shaft, was a golden Bos, and then out came two Branches more, in Form resembling the other. Above these in the Shaft was another Knop,

Knop, or Boſs, and out came two other Branches like the former; from thence the Shaft upward was adorn'd with three golden Scollop Cups, or Diſhes, a Knop, or Boſs, and a Flower: And thus the Head of all the Branches ſtood in an equal Height and Diſtance. Chap. 3.

Upon the Top of theſe ſix Branches and the Shaft was a Lamp fixed; but the Form is not preſcribed. Theſe Lamps were fed with pure Oil Olive, not ſqueez'd out by a Preſs or by a Mill, (for ſuch was full of Sediment and Dregs) but which ran freely from the Olives being bruiſed with a Peſtle; and they were to be ſupplied with a ſufficient Quantity to keep them always burning. Some indeed imagine that theſe Lamps did not perpetually burn, but being lighted every Evening went out in the Morning; and there are Places in Scripture which ſeem to favour this Opinion, particularly in the firſt Book of *Samuel*, where mention is made of the Lamps going out in the Morning. And in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles* we read of ſetting the Lamps to burn every Evening; which ſeems to ſignify that they did not burn in the Day. But *Joſephus*, who was a Prieſt, and could not be ignorant in this Matter, ſays expreſly that they burnt Day and Night: And indeed it ſeems neceſſary that they ſhould; for otherwiſe the Prieſts muſt have miniſter'd in the Dark at the Altar of Incenſe, before the Majeſty of God, who kept a Table in the Sanctuary which required Light; for no Body loves to feaſt in Darkneſs. And therefore, ſays a learned Rabbi, God commanded that a Lamp ſhould always burn in the Sanctuary for the Honour and Majeſty of it, there being no Light convey'd to it any other way. But yet it appears highly probable that there were not ſo many of the Lamps burning in the Day as in the Night, when all the ſeven Lamps were lighted, ſome of which were put out in the Morning, and lighted again in the Evening; for ſo *Joſephus* ſays expreſly, three burnt all Day before the Lord, and the reſt were lighted

Sam. 3. 3.

2 Chron. 13. 11.

Levi Barcelo. Præc. 98.

lighted in the Evening. The Care of these Lamps was committed to the Priests: At the rising of the Sun they went into the Holy Place to look after those which they had lighted the Evening before. The dressing of them, as the *Hebrews* describe it, consisted in cleansing the Snuff-dishes, and snuffing those Lamps they found burning, and supplying them with new Oil, and in putting new Cotton (as we now speak) and Oil into those that were gone out, and lighting them at some of the Lamps which still continued burning. This Candlestick had Tongs or Snuff-dishes belonging to it all of pure Gold. The Tongs are supposed to bear no resemblance to our Snuffers, though their Use was the same; but were probably like little Tongs, or Sciffars, with which the Lamps were clipt to make them shine the brighter. The Snuffers, and the Snuffings of the Lamps, were put into the Snuff-dishes; and for the latter Use it is thought they had Water put in them, that they might extinguish the better, and prevent a Stink.

Between the Candlestick and the Table stood the *Altar of Incense*; it was made of Shittim-wood, and over-laid with Gold: It was a Cubit long, as much broad, and two Cubits high, that the Priest might minister there without stooping. At each Corner it had a Horn, or Spire, rising out of the same Piece with the Corner Post; the Top, and the Frame on all Sides, were covered with Plates of Gold. Upon the Edge of the Frame upward was fixed a Crown, or Border, of massy Gold, at the Foot of which were struck two golden Rings, or Staples, in which were put two Staves of Shittim-wood over-laid with Gold, to bear this Altar withal. This Altar was placed near the Veil, just in the midst of the Breadth of the Room, (before the Middle of the Ark which was within the Veil) distant from either Wall two Yards and a quarter. On the North Side of it stood the Table, which being set lengthway to the Wall, took up half a Yard of the Breadth of

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the Houſe; ſo between it and the Altar was a Paſſage, a Yard and quarter broad. The Candleſtick was of the ſame Breadth, with his Branches ſpread, that the Table was of Length, and ſo was ſet over-againſt it, ſhewing five Inches between every Socket, wanting one Inch at the whole. This being ſet as far from the Wall as the utmoſt Edge of the Table, that ſtood on the other Side of the Houſe, afforded the ſame Space between the Altar and it that the Table did. There was no Grate upon this Altar, as ſome have imagin'd; but a golden Pan, or Diſh, was ſet upon the Top of it, which had Coals in it when Incenſe was to be burnt, and taken away with the Coals when that was done. Nor are we to ſuppoſe that this Altar ſtood in the Moſt Holy Place, as St. *Auſtin* and ſome others have conceiv'd. Chap. 3.

The Uſe of this Altar was for the burning of Incenſe, which *Aaron* himſelf did at firſt; but afterwards his Sons in their Courſes perform'd this Service. This was done every Morning when the Lamps were dreſſed, and every Evening when they were lighted; and therefore it was called a *Perpetual Incenſe*; becauſe it was never intermitted twice a Day: And one Reaſon why it was thus continually burnt was, becauſe of the vaſt Number of Beaſts that were ſlain, and cut to pieces, and waſht and burnt every Day at the Sanctuary, which would have made it ſmell like a Shambles, if this ſweet Odour had not perfum'd it, and the Garments of the Prieſts who there miniſter'd. The Odour of this Incenſe, the Rabbis ſay, might be ſmelt as far as *Jericho*; and by this means the Reverence due to the Houſe of God was preſerv'd; which would have been contemptible, if any ill Smell had been conſtantly about it. No Incenſe was to be burnt upon this Altar but what was preſcribed by God himſelf. No Burnt-Sacrifice, nor Meat-Offering, nor Drink-Offering, was to come upon it; only once a Year, upon the great Day of Expiation, the High-Prieſt

Book III. was to go with the Blood of the Sin-Offering into the *Most Holy Place*, and sprinkle it before the Mercy-seat; and then come out into the Sanctuary, and there put the Blood upon the Horns of this Altar, and sprinkle it upon it also with his Finger seven times.

Levit. 16. 18, 19.

The Ingredients order'd for the making of this sacred Perfume, are called by our Translators *Stacte*, *Onycha*, *Galbanum*, and pure *Frankincense*; and there was to be a like Weight of each. *Stacte* is supposed to be the liquid Part of Myrrh, not which flows of itself, but which drops from it when it is pressed out by Art, and is the most unctuous Part of it. *Onycha* is taken for the Shell of a Fish in the Fens of *India*, that are full of Spikenard, upon which this Fish feeding, it makes the very Shell odoriferous. *Galbanum* is different from what is sold in our Shops, which is of an offensive Smell; but there was another kind in *Syria*, in the Mount *Amanus*, which had an excellent Scent. Pure *Frankincense* is what was gather'd in Autumn, which was much the finest, and of the whitest Colour. These Ingredients were pounded severally, and being mingled with great Care, were made ready for the divine Service, and a Quantity of it was burnt every Day upon the Altar of Incense that was placed before the Ark. It was entirely separated to divine Worship, and not to be applied to any private Use, nor to be touched by any but the Priests, and that when they minister'd in the Sanctuary before the Mercy-seat. If any Man presum'd to make this Composition with the same Spices, and the same Weight, with a Design to burn it as a Perfume, he was to be cut off; and it is not improbable but this Excision extended not only to the Transgressor, but to his whole Race, that none of them should remain to keep up his Name among his People.

Exod. 30. 34.

Thus was the Furniture of this Place called the Holy. The Priests who minister'd went in at the East End, and directly before them stood

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the Veil and the golden Altar; upon the right hand, nigh the Veil, were placed twelve Loaves upon a golden Table; on the left were seven Lamps burning in seven golden Candlesticks made of one Piece, by which lay the golden Snuffers and Dishes for cleansing the Lamps Morning and Night. Upon the Walls on either side was nothing to be seen but Gold. On the Top were Pictures of Cherubims curiously wrought in rich Curtains. At the East End hung a Veil of Needle-work, upon five Pillars of Shittim-wood, overlaid with Gold; each Pillar was fastned in a Base of Brass, and at the Top had a golden Hook, on which the Covering hung. Chap. 4.

CHAP. IV.

The Most Holy Place; *the* Ark of the Covenant.

IT was before observ'd that the Tabernacle was divided: Ten Yards towards the East was called the *Holy Place*, and the five towards the West was called the *Most Holy*; and this Division was made by a Veil. This Veil of Partition seems to have been of the same Work with the rest of the inward Hangings of the Tabernacle, and was of that Thickness that none could look through it into the *Holy of Holies*. It was supported by four Pillars of Shittim-wood plated with Gold, and hung by golden Hooks fixed in the Top of the Pillars, exactly under the Clasps that joined the two inward Curtains abovementioned. Within this Veil was the *Holy of Holies*, which was a perfect Square, five Yards long, five Yards high, and five Yards broad.

In the inmost and most secret Part of this Place, at the West End, stood the *Ark*, called the *Ark of God* and the *Ark of the Lord*; because upon it God was pleased more especially to reside. It

was likewiſe ſtyled *the Ark of the Teſtimony*, and the *Ark of the Covenant*; becauſe the Tables of Stone, called *the Tables of the Teſtimony*, which were *Witneſſes* of the Covenant between God and the *Iſraelites*, were placed in it. This *Ark* was made, like a little Cheſt, or Coffer, hollow, three Foot nine Inches in Length, two Foot three Inches in Breadth, and two Foot three Inches in Height, of Shittim-wood; and, for the Conveniency of Carriage, laid over on the Inſide and the Outſide with very thin Plates of Gold. It had no Feet, but the Bottom ſtood upon the Ground; though the *Jewiſh* Doctors ſay it was ſet upon a Stone riſing three Fingers Breadth above the Floor, which was as a Pedeſtal for it. A Border, or Liſt of Gold, went round at the Top of it, which was called a *Crown*, becauſe it compaſſed every Part of it, but was of another Figure, not round, but ſquare, as the Ark was. It was of great Uſe as well as Ornament; for into this, as into a Socket, was the Covering, which was the *Mercy-ſeat*, fixed: And it might the more properly be called a Crown, becauſe it was of ſome Height, for the ſurer ſupporting of the *Propitiatory*. While the Ark was ambulatory with the Tabernacle, it was carried by Staves upon the Shoulders of the *Levites*. Theſe Staves the *Hebrews* ſay were ten Cubits long, at leaſt of ſuch a Length as to keep a decent Diſtance between the Ark and thoſe who bore it: They were overlaid with Gold, and put through golden Rings made for them, not on the Sides of the Ark, as has been hitherto ſuppoſed, but on the two Ends of it. And this appears evidently, becauſe that when it was carried into the Temple of *Solomon*, and there fixed in the Moſt Holy Place prepared for it, the Scripture ſays, that the Staves being drawn out reached downward towards the *Holy Place*, which was without the Moſt Holy Place, or *Holy of Holies*: For had they been upon the Sides of the Ark lengthway, they would, when they were drawn out, have reached towards the Side-Wall, and not downward;

1 Kings 8. 8.

ward; unleſs we ſuppoſe that the Ark was placed Sideway, with one of its Ends downward, and the other upward, which was never aſſerted. And as another Argument, let it be conſider'd, that the High-Prieſt, when he appear'd before the Ark upon the great Day of Expiation, is generally allow'd by the Rabbins to have gone up to it between the Staves. But if theſe Staves had been drawn out from the Sides, there would then have been but two Foot three Inches between them; which would not have been room ſufficient for the High-Prieſt, in his Pontifical Robes, to have paſſed between them towards the Ark for the Performance of his Duty. Nor could the Bearers, in ſo near a Poſition of the Staves, carry it with any Convenience upon their Shoulders, but muſt neceſſarily have incommoded one another, before and behind, by being ſo near together. Theſe Staves being once put into the Rings, were never to be taken out, that there might be no danger of letting them fall (which would have been a great Irreverence) and that every thing might be ready for the *Levites* when they were to remove the Ark upon ſhort Notice, who were by this means kept from touching it, or coming nearer to it than the Ends of the Staves. Chap. 4.

When Order was given for the making of this Ark, the Direction was, that before it was cover'd, the Teſtimony (that is, the *two Tables of Stone* containing the ten Commandments) ſhould be put into it; for it had no Door, and therefore the Teſtimony was put in at the Top: And the Rabbins aſſert, that the Tables broken by *Moſes* were preſerv'd there as well as the whole. Theſe Tables (two Foot in Length (ſay the *Jews*) ſo much in Breadth, and a Foot thick) are ſuppoſed to have been prepared ready for *Moſes* when he came to the Mount: They were made and planed by God himſelf, and the Letters were written with his own Fingers; ſo that no Creature was any way employ'd in this Work. Some are of opinion, that the Writing was on the fore Part

Book III. and the back Part of them, that ſo the ten Commandments might be read by thoſe who ſtood either before or behind, when they were ſet up, being written (according to this Conceit) twice over. But they were not deſign'd to be ſet up, they were to be repoſited in the Ark; and therefore they were written on both the Leaves (as I may call them) which were folded and ſhut like a Book when they were laid in; but how many Commandments were written on one Side, and how many on the other, is variouſly diſputed, but cannot certainly be determined.

1 Kings 8. 9. It is expreſly ſaid that there was nothing in the Ark but the two *Tables of Stone*; and there-

Deut. 31. 26. fore when it is ſaid that *Moſes* wrote the whole Book of his Laws, and commanded the Prieſts to put it in the Side of the Ark, it is to be underſtood of the Outſide, where it was placed in a Caſe or Coffer made of purpoſe, and laid by the Side of the Ark, which was on the right Hand; for in the Text the very ſame Phraſe is made uſe

1 Sam. 6. 18. of, where it is ſaid, that the *Philiſtines* put the Jewels of Gold, which they return'd for a Sin-Offering, in a Coffer *by the Side of the Ark*: And therefore thoſe Prieſts who received the Book of the Law from *Moſes*, deliver'd it to *Eleazar* to be there placed. Beſides, the Ark was not of Capacity ſufficient to contain the whole Volume of the *Moſaical* Laws, together with the Tables of Stone that were preſerv'd in it. And further let it be conſider'd, that the Deſign of laying up this Code of Laws was, that it might be reſerv'd as an authentick Copy, and a publick Record, by which all others were to be corrected and ſet right; and therefore, to anſwer this End, it muſt have been placed ſo, that Acceſs might be had to it upon proper Occaſions; which had been impoſſible if it had been placed within the Ark, and ſhut up there by the Cover of the Mercy-ſeat over it, which was not to be removed. And (which

2 Kings 22. 8. is the laſt Reaſon) when *Hilkiah* the Prieſt found a Copy of the Law, in the Time of King *Joſiah*, there

there is no mention made of the Ark, nor is it said that it was taken from thence; but it was casually found rather upon the Roof of the House, or among the Rafters, where the Priests had hid it, as some of the *Jews* think, when *Manasseh* endeavour'd to destroy this authentick Copy of the Law, as he had done all others that he could find; and when they came to uncover the House, there it appear'd. For these Reasons put together it seems plain that the Volume of the Law was not laid within the Ark, but had a particular Coffer or Repository of its own, in which it was placed upon the Side of it. And therefore the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, which goes under the Name of *Jonathan Ben Uziel*, in commenting upon the Words of *Deuteronomy*, *Take this Book of the Law, and put it in the Side of the Ark of the Covenant*, renders it thus: *Take the Book of the Law, and place it in a Case or Coffer on the right Side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God.* Chap. 4. Deut. 31. 26.

If nothing was placed in the Ark but the Tables of Stone, it is certain that *Aaron's* Rod and the Pot of *Manna*, which are said to be laid up *before the Testimony*, must be preserv'd in some other place. It is generally agreed, that by the *Testimony* are meant the two Tables of Stone; and therefore those who understand the Words, *before the Testimony*, in the strictest Sense, contend that the Rod and the Pot of *Manna* were laid up immediately before the Tables within the Ark; otherwise, say they, they would not have been laid up before the *Testimony*, but before the Ark. But others, who do not understand the Words in so strict a Sense, conceive they were laid up in the *Holy* of *Holies* without the Ark, in a place just before it; thinking, that in this Position without the Ark, they may be as properly said to be laid up *before the Testimony* or Tables of the Law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the Ark itself. Numb. 17. 10. Exod. 16. 33.

The *Testimony* being put into the Ark, it was then covered. The Covering was made of pure

Gold, beaten or founded to the juſt Length and Breadth of the Ark, that when it was laid on, it touch'd the Golden Crown round about. This Cover is called by the Old and New Teſtament the *Mercy Seat*, or properly the *Propitiatory*; becauſe here God ſhew'd himſelf *Propitious*, and appeaſed by the Blood of the Sacrifices that were ſprinkled before this Place. At either End was made a Cherub all of Gold, beaten out of the ſame Piece that the Cover of the Ark was of. Of what Shape theſe Cherubs were is hard to determine; but perhaps they were either of the ſame Form that the Angelical Miniſters appear'd in, who attended upon the divine Majeſty in the Mount; or they were not the Figures of Angels, but rather Emblems whereby the Angelical Nature was in ſome manner expreſs'd; and were therefore order'd to be made, as *Maimonides* conjectures, that the *Jews* might be confirmed in the Belief of the Exiſtence of Angels, which is the ſecond Article of their Faith, next to the Belief of God. And he commanded (ſays the ſame Rabbi) *Two* to be made; becauſe if there had been but one, it might have led them into a dangerous Error, that it was the Figure of God, whereby they might have been inclined to worſhip it; but there being two of them order'd, with this Declaration, *The Lord our God is one God*, it led them into right Thoughts, that God had many of theſe Angelical Miniſters attending upon him. It is certain that they were made like flying Creatures; for they had Wings, but bore no Reſemblance to any Fowl that we know of: *They were flying Animals*, ſays *Joſephus*, *like to none of thoſe which are ſeen by Men, but ſuch as Moſes ſaw figured in the Throne of God*, when he beheld, he means, his Majeſty in the Mount, attended by the heavenly Hoſt: And in another place he aſſerts, *As for the* Cherubims, *no body can tell or conceive what they were like*. Some indeed have ſuppoſed, from what *Ezekiel* ſays of them, that they had the Face of Oxen; for that Face, which is called by the Prophet in one place *the*

More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 49.

Antiq. l. 3. c. 8.

Lib. 8. c. 2.

Ezekiel 10. 14.

Face

Face of an Ox, is afterward called *the Face of a Cherub.* But it is to be considered, that there is no Proof that the Cherubims of *Moses* had the same Face with those mentioned by *Ezekiel*, but were rather a quite different Representation; for in the Tabernacle God was represented as *dwelling*, *sitting*, and *abiding* among the *Israelites*; but in the Prophet as *removing*, and departing quite away from his Dwelling-place; and consequently I conceive his Ministers and Attendants appeared then in different Shapes from what they did in the present Case. The Faces of these Cherubs look'd one to another, to signify, say the *Jews*, their mutual Consent and Concord; and both toward the Cover of the Ark, to shew, say they, that they were Keepers of the Law, that was laid under the Mercy Seat. Their Wings were stretch'd on high, as being upon the Wing (to use our Language) ready to fly to execute the divine Commands: Their Wings did not lie close to their Bodies, but were raised up, and reach'd over the Ark; so that meeting together, they made as it were a Seat over the Ark, called *the Throne of God.* Chap. 4.

Here it was where *the Glory of the Lord* resided: Here the *Shechinah*, or the Speciality of the divine Presence rested, both in the Tabernacle, and the Temple, and was visibly seen in the Appearance of a *Cloud* over it. God sat here *between the Cherubims*, whose Wings were the Seat of the divine Majesty, as the Cover of the Ark beforemention'd was his Foot-stool: From hence the divine Oracles were given out by an audible Voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his People; and therefore the Tabernacle is often called *the Tabernacle of Meeting*, not because this was the Place where the People met together for divine Worship, as is commonly supposed, when we translate it the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*; but because there God met with Men, and revealed his Will to them. For this reason the High-Priest appeared before this Mercy Seat once every Year, upon

Psalm. 80. 2. and 99. 8.

Exod. 29. 42. 30. 36. Numb. 17. 4.

Book III. upon the great Day of Expiation, when he was to make the nearest Approach to the divine Presence, to mediate and make Atonement for the whole Seed of *Israel*: And all else of that Nation, that served God according to the *Levitical* Law, made this Place the Center of their Worship; and not only in the Temple, when they came up thither to worship; but every where else in their Dispersion through the whole World, the *Jews*, whenever they prayed, turned their Faces toward the Place where the Ark stood, and directed all their Devotions that way; and therefore the Author of the Book *Cozri* justly says, that the Ark, with the Mercy Seat and the Cherubims, were the Foundation, the Root, the Heart and Marrow of the whole Temple, and of all the *Levitical* Worship performed in it. This *Schechinah*, or the divine Presence, manifested by a visible Cloud, appeared first when the Tabernacle was consecrated by *Moses*, and was afterwards, upon the Consecration of the Temple of *Solomon*, translated thither, and there it continued in the same visible manner till that Temple was destroy'd; but after that it never appeared more. Its constant Place was directly over the Mercy Seat; but it rested there only when the Ark was in its proper Place, in the Tabernacle first, and afterwards in the Temple, and not while it was in a State of Motion from Place to Place, as it often was before the first Temple was built.

Pars 2. Sect. 8.

What became of this Ark upon the Destruction of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, is variously disputed by the *Jewish* Writers. Had it been carried to *Babylon* with the other Vessels of the Temple, it would possibly have been brought back with them at the end of the Captivity: But that it was not so is universally agreed; and therefore it must follow that it was destroy'd with the Temple, as were also the Altar of Incense, the Shew-Bread Table, and the Golden Candlestick; for all these in the second Temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the

Jews

Jews contend, that it was hid and preserved by *Jeremiah*, say some, out of the second Book of *Maccabees*: But most of them will have it that King *Josiah* being foretold by *Huldah* the Prophetess, that the Temple would be destroyed soon after his Death, caused the Ark to be put into a Vault under Ground, which *Solomon*, foreseeing this Destruction, had order'd to be built on purpose for the preserving of it. And to prove this, they produce the Text, where *Josiah* commands the *Levites* to put the holy Ark in the House which *Solomon* the Son of *David* King of *Israel* did build, which they interpret of his putting the Ark into the Vault abovementioned, where they say it has lain ever since to this Day; but it shall be discovered, and brought out again in the Days of the *Messiah*. But they strangely pervert the Words, which import no more, than that *Manasseh*, or *Ammon*, having removed the Ark from the Place where it ought to have stood, *Josiah* commanded that it should be restored to its proper Place. Other Dotages of the Rabbins concerning this Ark I forbear troubling the Reader with.

Chap. 4.

Chap. 2. v. 3.

2 Chron. 35. 3.

CHAP. V.

The Court *of the Tabernacle*; *the* Altar of Burnt-Offering; *the* Laver of Brass.

SUCH was the Form, and the Furniture, and the Covering of this sacred Tent, which was still inclosed with a sort of Court-yard made with Pillars and Hangings, in which this Tabernacle was placed. Upon the South side of the Fabrick, twenty Cubits distant from the House, were set a row of Pillars of Shittim-wood twenty in Number: Each Pillar was set in a Base of Brass, distant from each other five Cubits, counting from the middle of one Pillar to another; so that the twenty made a Length of an hundred Cubits.

In

Book III. In each Pillar was ſtruck a Hook of Silver, and each Pillar had a Border of Silver wrought about it: Thus were they on the South ſide, juſt ſo were they on the North. At the Weſt End, thirty five Cubits from the Houſe, were ſet ten Pillars in the ſame manner and diſtance, making the Breadth of the Court fifty Cubits at either End; for juſt in the Middle the Houſe took up ten Cubits Breadth. Juſt ſo were the Pillars ſet at the Eaſt End, at the ſame diſtance from the Houſe, and from one another. On the Sides, upon the Hooks of the Pillars, were Hangings faſtened, made of Linen well twiſted, of an hundred Cubits in Length, and five in Height. At the Weſt End were the like, juſt half ſo long, and juſt ſo high. At the Eaſt End there was ſome difference; for that had three Pieces to make it up. On either ſide of the Entrance was a Piece hung of fifteen Cubits long, and of the ſame Height. Juſt in the Middle was a Piece of twenty Cubits long of the ſame Height with the other Hangings, but of more rich Stuff; for whereas the other were made only of Linen, this was of the ſame Stuff that the rich Curtains were, curiouſly wrought with the Needle. To faſten theſe Hangings, that they might not fly up in the lower End, there were Cords faſtned to them, and theſe Cords tied to brazen Pins, which Pins were faſtned in the Ground, and ſo made all ſure. Thus were alſo the Curtains that cover'd the Tabernacle ſerved, with Pins of the ſame Metal, with Cords faſtned to them after the ſame manner, to prevent the ſame Inconvenience.

In this Court ſtood the *Altar of Burnt-Sacrifice* up toward the Tabernacle, that the People might ſtand and ſee the Sacrifice offer'd with their Faces toward the Holy Place. This Altar was made of *Shittim* Wood, five Cubits, or two Yards and a half, long, and as much broad, and one Yard and a half high. The Frame was ſtrong, like the Frame of a Table of theſe Dimenſions. The open Places in the Frame were made up with

Boards,

Boards. All this Bulk was overlaid with Braſs. At each Corner was there a Horn or Spire wrought out of the ſame Piece of Wood with the Corners of the Altar. Theſe Spires were either for Ornament, or were uſeful to tie the Sacrifices to the Altar; and therefore ſome imagine that they were of the Faſhion of Oxen or Rams Horns; tho' if they were ſtreight, they were more convenient for putting the Blood of the Sacrifices round about them. Thus the Altar ſtood hollow, and within the Hollow, juſt in the Middle between Bottom and Top, hung a brazen Grate, made in the manner of a Net, that the Aſhes might fall through to the Bottom of the Altar, where there was a Door on the Eaſt Side to open and take them out. This Grate ſeems to have been made like a Furnace, full of Holes round about, as well as below. At each Corner of this Grate was a brazen Ring, which (as ſome imagine) at each Corner came through the Frame of the Altar, and hung out on the Sides of it; ſo that the Frame and the Grate were carried together. But beſide other Objections againſt this Opinion, from the different Form of the Grate and the Altar, it may be doubted whether they were carried together, and not ſeparate from one another; eſpecially if we conceive the Grate to have been carry'd with the Fire ſtill burning on it, which would have immediately conſumed the Purple Cloth which was to cover the Altar when they removed it. But the Fire-pans hereafter mention'd, it is probable, received the Fire out of the Grate; and then it being cleanſed from the Aſhes, was carried together with the Altar, to the Horns of which it hung by Chains in the Rings before-mention'd, a Purple Cloth being ſpread over both. It follows then, that beſides the Rings for the Grate, there were others in the Corners of the Altar it-ſelf, into which were put two Staves of *Shittim* Wood, of ſuch a length that they might be laid upon the Shoulders of the Prieſts;

Chap. 5.

Pſal. 118. 27. Levit. 16. 18.

Numb. 4. 13.

Book III. Prieſts; and the Altar, when they carried it, hung between them.

Levit. 4. 12. To this Altar belong'd divers neceſſary Utenſils made of Braſs. There were Pans to carry out the Aſhes which fell from the Altar upon the Earth into a clean Place, as the Law directs. The Aſhes were ſcraped together on a Heap with *Shovels*, and then thrown into theſe Pans. There were brazen Baſons, whoſe Uſe principally was to receive the Blood of the Sacrifices which was to be ſprinkled; but it is ſuppoſed likewiſe that they ſerved for the Mixture of the Oil with fine Flower and Frankincenſe, which were to be burnt on the Altar. For when any Man offer'd a Meat-Offering, the Prieſt was to take a Handful of the Flower and of the Oil, with all the Frankincenſe, as God's Part, to be conſumed on the Altar; and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe ſome Veſſel wherein theſe were brought to the Prieſt, as the Law requires. *Fleſh-Hooks* were provided, or *Forks*, as the Word may be tranſlated, which are conceived to be in the Form of a Trident. With theſe they ſtirred up the Fire, and alſo order'd the Pieces of the Sacrifices, if any chanced to lie out of it, and put them into it, ſo that every Part might be ſurely conſumed. *Fire-Pans* were another Appurtenance belonging to this Altar. Theſe are commonly taken for *Diſhes* or *Cenſers*, in which the Prieſt carried burning Coals from this Altar into the Sanctuary, to offer Incenſe upon the golden Altar. But others imagine that they did not miniſter in the holy Place with brazen Cenſers; and therefore theſe Fire-Pans, they think, were a larger ſort of Veſſel, wherein the ſacred Fire that came down from Heaven was kept burning, whilſt they cleanſed the Altar and the Grate from the Coals and Aſhes, and when this Altar was to be carried from one Place to another, as in the Wilderneſs it often was.

Levit. 2. 1, 2.

In this Court alſo ſtood a Veſſel of Braſs upon a Foot of Braſs, in which Veſſel Water was kept for the Prieſts to waſh their Hands and their Feet.

There

There is no mention of the Form or Dimenſions of this *Laver*; but we may probably think, that though *Solomon* made a Sea of Braſs much bigger than this Veſſel (which was carried about in their Travels in the Wilderneſs) yet he made it of the ſame Form, and that was circular. There were certain Spouts in this Veſſel through which the Water ran, and the Baſis was ſo contriv'd as to receive it below. The Water (at leaſt while the Tabernacle was in the Wilderneſs) was brought thither every Day in other Veſſels, and poured into it. At thoſe Spouts the Prieſts waſhed their Hands and their Feet before they enter'd upon their Miniſtration; for if they had put their Hands and their Feet into the Laver, the Water would have been defiled by the firſt Man who waſhed in it: And it is ſuppoſed, by reaſon of its Height, they could not with any Convenience put their Feet into it. That the Prieſts might waſh with leſs Difficulty, the *Talmudiſts* tells us, there were twelve Spouts or Cocks in the Form of a Woman's Breaſt (whence they call them Paps or Dugs) to let the Water out of the Laver; ſo that twelve Prieſts who attended upon the daily Sacrifice might waſh there all together. There was no occaſion to waſh any more than their Hands and their Feet, being waſhed once all over before they were conſecrated; but this they were to do upon Pain of Death, as long as the Tabernacle or the Temple was in being. This Waſhing was not to be repeated before every Act of their Miniſtration; but it was ſufficient for the Service of that Day, if they waſhed once before their Entrance upon it: Only upon the great Day of Expiation, before five of the various Duties then to be performed, the Waſhing was to be renewed. The Omiſſion of this Ceremony was puniſhed with Death by the Hand of Heaven, whether the Prieſts were to miniſter at the Altar of Incenſe in the Tabernacle, or to offer Sacrifices at the brazen Altar in the outward Court. This Veſſel, according to the *Talmudiſts*, ſtood

Chap. 5.

2 Chron. 4. 2, 3.

stood at the Entrance of the Tabernacle, but a little on the South Side, and not just before the Altar; so that the Priests coming into the Court, went immediately to the Laver, and there washed, and then ascended to the Altar. It was made of the finest Brass, freely offer'd by the religious Women among the *Israelites*, who in those Times made use of polish'd Brass to behold the Beauty of their Faces, instead of *Looking-Glasses*. These they brought voluntarily to *Moses*, who made of them this Laver for the Service of the Priests. Out of this was the Water taken when a *suspected Woman* was to be tried; and the Water was likewise used to wash some Part of the Sacrifices.

CHAP. VI.

The Consecration *of the* Tabernacle, *and all its Vessels and Utensils. The Descent of the* Holy Fire *upon the* Altar of Burnt-Offerings.

SUCH was the Tabernacle, its Utensils, and the outward Court that surrounded it; but there was no peculiar Sanctity in this Tent, and its Appurtenances, before it was set apart by a solemn Rite of *Consecration*. For this purpose there was an Ointment made, which has been already describ'd in speaking of the High Priest. Let it be observ'd only in this Place, that no Person was to be anointed with this Oil except such as were appointed by God: Nor was any Ointment to be made of the same Ingredients for private or common Use, under the Penalty of being cut off. It was made for the anointing and consecrating the King, the High Priest, and all the sacred Vessels made use of in the House of God; and for this use it was commanded to be kept by the *Israelites* throughout their Generations; and therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most

most Holy Place. And as the original Copy of the Law was placed there on the right Side of the Ark of the Covenant; so perhaps the Vessel containing this Oil was placed on the other Side of it, and there kept, till the first Temple being destroy'd, that also was destroy'd with it. The Vessels and Utensils that were anointed were the *Ark of the Covenant*, the *Altar of Incense*, the *Shew-bread Table*, the *Golden Candlestick*, the *Altar of Burnt Offering*, the *Laver*, and all other *Vessels* and *Utensils* belonging to them. This it is supposed was done, not by pouring or sprinkling, but by dipping his Finger in the Oil, and putting it upon them. And as by this anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the Tabernacle, so if any of them were afterwards decay'd, destroy'd or lost, they could during the first Temple, as long as this anointing Oil remain'd, be again restored by making and consecrating new ones in their Place of the same Virtue and Holiness: But this Oil being wanting in the second Temple, it caused a Want of Sanctity in all things else belonging to it. For tho' upon the Return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the rebuilding of their Temple, they made anew an Ark, an Altar of Incense, a Shewbread Table, a golden Candlestick, an Altar of Burnt Offerings, and a Laver, with the other Vessels and Utensils belonging to them, and fixed them all in their former Places, and applied them to their former Uses; yet, thro' want of the holy anointing Oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that Holiness under the second Temple which they had under the first. How they came to fancy it unlawful to make a Composition of this kind does not appear. It is certain that the making of it was repeated before the first Temple was destroy'd; for so many things were to be anointed with it about the Tabernacle, and especially in future Times (all the High Priests being anointed not with a Drop or two, but with such a plentiful Effusion of it; that it ran down their Beards and

the Skirts of their Garments; the Priests also who went in their stead to the Wars, and their Kings likewise, when there was any doubt of their Title) that this Oil could not last so long, much less retain its Scent for so many Generations, without a Miracle, for which there was no occasion. For tho' there was near half a hundred Weight of the Spices, yet there was but five or six Quarts of Oil; and therefore the Ointment could not be much more, the Odours of these Spices being only extracted by Infusion, and the Substance left behind. And such a Quantity as this may well be supposed to be near spent in anointing so many Things and Persons; and therefore it was upon occasion to be made again, as the Perfume for Incense certainly was.

By this Unction were the Vessels and Utensils of the Tabernacle set apart for holy Uses; but the Altar of Burnt Offering was sanctified by a peculiar Rite, that was not used to any other Part of the Furniture: For, besides its being anointed in common with the rest, it was sprinkled seven times with the Oil, in order to derive a greater Sanctity upon it; and it received an additional Holiness by an expiatory Sacrifice, by which it became a most sacred Place. It was impossible that any Sacrifices that were offer'd upon the Altar should be accepted by God, unless the Altar it self was expiated and made holy. This Expiation was performed by *Moses*, by sacrificing a Bullock, and putting some of the Blood upon the Horns of it with his Finger: Not that the Altar, properly speaking, was capable of any Guilt; but yet it required to be purified from that Defilement it must be supposed to have contracted by the Hands of the Workmen that made it; for all Vessels in the Sense of the Law were looked upon as made unclean by the Touch of any unclean Person. Nothing was acceptable to God, unless it was offer'd upon this Altar; and when it was completely consecrated, it sanctified every thing that was laid upon it.

This

This expiatory Rite was continued for seven Days, till the End of which no Sacrifice whatsoever was offer'd upon this Altar (because it was not perfectly sanctified, to make them holy and acceptable;) but upon the eighth Day Fire came down either out of the Sanctuary from the Holy of Holies, or from that Glory which then appear'd to the *Israelites*, and consumed the Sacrifice, which was a Burnt Offering, and is supposed to be the Evening Sacrifice, which concluding the Work of the Day, God gave a special Token of his Acceptance of all the other Sacrifices by consuming this. From this time the Priests were bound to take care that this Fire never went out, that so their Sacrifices might be constantly offer'd by celestial Fire; because it was a Continuation of that Fire which came from Heaven by a continual Addition of Fewel, whereby it was preserved. And so great Care was taken about this Fire, that no Wood was to be used upon this Altar but what was reputed clean; and for this reason it was all barked and examin'd before it was laid on. And they were so nice, that it was never blown by Bellows, or by human Breath, in order to kindle it. This celestial Fire was so famous, that it was imitated among the *Gentiles*, who thought it ominous to have their sacred Fire go out, and therefore appointed Persons on purpose to watch it and keep it perpetually burning; as appears by the *Vestal* Virgins at *Rome*, whose great Business it was to look after the *Eternal Fire*, as they called it; imagining the Extinction of it portended no less than the Destruction of the City. The *Greeks* also preserved an inextinguishable Fire; and so did the *Persians*, and many other Nations. This Fire descended anew upon the Altar in the Temple of *Solomon*, at the Consecration of that sacred Place; and there it was constantly fed and maintain'd by the Priests Day and Night, without suffering it ever to go out, in the same manner as it had been before in the Tabernacle. And with this all the Offerings were of-

fer'd that were made by Fire; and for using other Fire were *Nadab* and *Abihu* consumed by Fire from the Lord. This, say some of the *Jewish* Writers, was extinguish'd in the Days of *Manasseh*: But the more general Opinion among them is, that it continued till the Destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeans*. After that it was never more restored; but instead of it they had only common Fire in the second Temple; for what is said of its being hid in a Pit by the Care of some religious Priests, and again brought thence and revived upon the Altar in the second Temple, is a Fable that deserves no Regard; for it is a common Tradition among the more sensible *Jews*, that there was no sacred Fire in the second Temple.

2 Macc. 1. 18, 19.

Upon the Consecration of the Tabernacle, and its Appurtenances, the several Apartments of it were not equally holy; but there were different Degrees of Sanctity belonging to it. The outward Court was not so holy as the holy Place within the Tabernacle; nor was that so sacred as the holiest of all. It is not certain whether the People were admitted into the Court of the Tabernacle, or not. If they were, it could contain no great Number; and they stood at a great distance from the Priests in the lower Part of the Court, and were separated by some Bounds or other, as they were in After-times when they came into *Canaan*. When they were settled there, and the Tabernacle fixed in *Shiloh*, the *Hebrews* say it was inclosed with a Wall, as well as with Hangings; and then it is likely a distinct Court was made for the People; at least it was so in the time of *David*, who speaks of more Courts than one. In the Temple of *Solomon* we read plainly of the Court of the Priests, and the Court of the People; unto which, in the Temple of *Herod*, after the Captivity, was added a third, the Court of the Women. Whoever enter'd this Court of the Tabernacle went upon the right Side, except Mourners, who for Distinction sake went upon the left.

Psal. 65. 5.
1 Kings 6. 36. 7. 12.
2 Chron. 4. 9. 33. 5.

left. They retired backwards, that they might not turn their Backs upon the holy Place. None but the High Prieſt and the Prieſts were permitted to go into the Holy Place; and into the moſt Holy none was to enter but the High Prieſt once a Year upon the great Day of Expiation. Yet it is ſuppoſed that *Moſes* had the Privilege to conſult the divine Majeſty in the moſt Holy Place, where the Divine Glory ſhined; for (as *Cunæus* argues) ſince he was admitted into the Mount to ſpeak with God Face to Face for many Days together, it is not unreaſonable to think that he was admitted to ſpeak with him upon occaſion in the moſt Holy Place. Chap. 6. De Rep. Hebr. l. 2. c. 5.

When this Tabernacle was pitched in the Wilderneſs, it ſtood in the midſt of the Camp. *Moſes*, *Aaron* and his two Sons *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, pitched at the Eaſt End at the Entrance. The Tent of *Moſes* was toward the South, and *Aaron* was towards the North. The *Levites* were thus ſituated: The *Kohathites* pitched on the Side of the Tabernacle Southward, the *Gerſhonites* lay behind Weſtward, and the *Merarites* were order'd upon the Side towards the North. The Tribes of the People were thus diſpoſed: *Judah*, *Iſſachar* and *Zebulon* pitched upon the Eaſt; *Reuben*, *Simeon* and *Gad* lay upon the South; *Ephraim*, *Manaſſeh* and *Benjamin* were appointed upon the Weſt; and *Dan*, *Aſher* and *Naphthali* were commanded upon the North. The *Levites* firſt encamp'd about the Tabernacle as a nearer Incloſure and Guard about it; and they pitched in the ſame Form with the Camp of *Iſrael*, which was quadrangular. The Tribes were obliged to pitch at ſuch a Diſtance as might ſhew their Regard and Reverence to this ſacred Place; and the Diſtance from the Camp of *Iſrael* and the Tabernacle is reaſonably judged to have been two thouſand Cubits, that is, a Mile.

CHAP. VII.

The Israelites *guided in their Marches by the* Pillar of a Cloud, *or* of Fire. *The Office of the* Levites *in taking down and setting up the* Tabernacle.

WHEN the Camp of *Israel* moved in the Wilderness, the Tabernacle was carried along with it. The three Tribes that were pitched upon the East marched first under the Banner of *Judah*. This was the greatest Body of all, which had the Honour to be placed just before the Oracle, as the strongest Guard to it; the Tribe of *Judah* lying in the midst, and the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zebulun* on each side of his Standard. Then followed the three Tribes that lay on the South under the Banner of *Reuben*; the Tribes of *Simeon* and *Gad* lying on either Side of him under his Standard. After these two Camps (as they are called) the Tabernacle was to follow, between those two that went before, and the Camp of *Ephraim* and the Camp of *Dan* that came after, with the Tribes under their several Banners: So that they did not march as they lay pitched; for then there was a Camp upon each side of the Tabernacle; whereas when they marched there was none on the Sides; but two Camps went before it, and two followed it.

The Cloud or the Fire that appear'd visibly over the Tabernacle was the Direction the *Israelites* were to follow in pitching or removing their Camps. The Cloud and the Fire were not different Things; but the same Pillar which was dark by Day, when there was no need of Light, shone like Fire by Night, when the dark Part of it could not be seen: It appeared therefore like

like a Cloud by Day, and turned the light Side to them (which was bright as Fire) by Night. When the Cloud went up from the Tabernacle, which before it cover'd, and appear'd higher in the Air, then they took down the Tabernacle, and follow'd it; for it went before, and led them to the Place where they were to reſt. Where it ſtop'd its Motion they ſtood ſtill, and ſet up the Tabernacle, and encamped round about it; and when the ſacred Tent was fixed, the Cloud deſcended, and reſted upon it in its uſual Place. If the Cloud ſettled in the Evening upon the Tabernacle, and was taken up again next Morning, yet they followed its Motion: And tho' they were at reſt in their Beds, yet if notice was given that the Cloud moved, they immediately roſe, and went after it; for they were ſenſible that their Safety and Protection depended upon the Guidance of it. *Moſes* is very particular in deſcribing the Nature of this Cloud, and the Obedience of the *Iſraelites* to its ſeveral Motions. And his Deſign was (as *Maimonides* remarks) to confute the Conceit of profane Perſons, who imagin'd the Reaſon of the *Iſraelites* ſtaying ſo long in the Wilderneſs, was becauſe they loſt their way. For the *Arabians*, he ſays, in his Days ſtill called the Wilderneſs, in which they travell'd, *the wandring Deſart*; fancying that the *Iſraelites* were bewilder'd (as we ſpeak) and could not find their way out. The Scripture therefore punctually ſhews that all their Removals (which were irregular) and the Time they reſted in any Place (which was very unequal, being ſometimes for eighteen Years, ſometimes only for one Day and one Night) were all order'd by divine Direction. I might add, that the holy Penman by his Relation fully obviates the Opinion of a miſchievous Writer now dead, who imagin'd that the Cloud here ſpoken of was no more than a Beacon of Fire, of human Preparation, carried upon Poles, or other Engines: For had it not been the divine Will that the *Iſraelites* ſhould wander ſo many Years

Chap. 7.

Mo.e Nevoch. p. 3. c. 50.

Toland's Hodegus.

in the Wilderneſs, they might eaſily have found their way out; for the Way from *Horeb* to *Kadeſh-Barnea* (which was upon the Borders of the Land of *Canaan*) was a plain, known, and beaten Road, of about eleven Days Journey, which was almoſt impoſſible for them to miſs. And therefore the Guide, which led them for ſo many Years about in that deſart Place, was a miraculous and ſupernatural Direction: And the *Iſraelites* underſtood it to be ſuch, or elſe they would never have ſubmitted to ſo many Hardſhips and Difficulties in following of it.

When the Cloud removed, the Tabernacle (as was obſerved before) was to follow. And for this purpoſe *Aaron* and his Sons the Prieſts went into the holy Place, and took down the inward Veil that hung between that and the moſt holy, and then enter'd the holieſt of all, and advanced up to the Ark it ſelf. While the Cloud reſted upon the Tabernacle, and the Glory of the Lord filled the Houſe, none but *Aaron* (and *Moſes* upon ſpecial Occaſions) might come into the moſt holy Place, where the Ark was, and that but upon one Day in the Year, and then after he had filled it with Incenſe, which made a Cloud before the Mercy-Seat (which was the Covering of the Ark) over which the *Shechinah*, or Speciality of the divine Preſence, was pleaſed to reſt: But that being removed in the Cloud when it was taken up from the Tabernacle, not only *Aaron*, but his Sons alſo, might go into the moſt holy Place without any Irreverence; that which made it ſo holy (that is, the divine Glory) being for the preſent gone out of it; ſo that there was no danger in approaching the Ark upon which that Glory was uſed to reſt. This inward Veil was laid over the Ark, and over that was thrown a Covering of Badgers Skins (not any of thoſe wherewith the Tabernacle was cover'd, but made on purpoſe for this Uſe) to defend the Ark from the Injuries of the Weather when it was carried upon their Shoulders. There was yet another Covering

of

of a Cloth perfectly blue, and till that was laid upon the Ark, the *Levites* durst not approach it. And since the Tabernacle was the Image of Things in the Heavens (as not only the Apostle, but the *Jews* themselves say) the Ark in particular being a Figure of the celestial Throne of God, it is not an unreasonable Conceit of a *Rabbi*, that this *blue* coloured Cloth was spread over it as an Emblem of the Skies, which are spread like a Curtain between us and the Majesty on high. Then were the Staves, that were never taken out of the Rings, so disposed under these Coverings, that they might be readily laid upon the Shoulders of the *Levites* that were to bear them; and likewise that they might fall into the two Notches that were made in them to keep the Ark steady, and to prevent its sliding up and down as it was carried.

The *Table of Shew-bread* was next made ready for Carriage. And to secure it from Injuries, it was cover'd with a Cloth of Blue; but, it is thought, not so deep a Blue as the former. The Shew-bread, and the Utensils belonging to the Table, were carried upon it under this Covering; upon which was laid a scarlet Cloth, and over all a Covering of Badgers Skins. The Staves were then set in their Places, and the Table was ready to be removed.

The *Candlestick* and its Appurtenances had but two Coverings, a Cloth of Blue and a Case of Badgers Skins; it being of lesser Value than the Table of Shew-bread, and what belong'd to it. Our Translation says, this Candlestick was carried upon a Bar; but that could hardly be, for it had no Rings about it; and therefore it might more properly be render'd a *Bier*; for it was certainly something that was broad, and perhaps resembling a *Bier* upon which Corps are at this time carried to their Graves.

The *Golden Altar* was cover'd in the same manner with a Cloth of Blue and Badgers Skins, and the Staves were put into the Rings ready for Carriage.

riage. And the holy Garments (called *Inſtruments of the Miniſtry*) uſed by *Aaron* and his Sons in the Time of their Miniſtration, had the ſame Coverings, and were carried upon a *Bier*. And thus was every thing within the Sanctuary pack'd up, and made ready to be removed.

In the next Place Directions are given for removing the *Altar of Burnt Offering* that ſtood in the Court; and for this Purpoſe it was to be cleans'd from its Aſhes. What became of the Fire that was to burn perpetually upon it, is not ſaid; but we may ſuppoſe it was carried upon the Grate, which had Rings on purpoſe that it might be removed ſeparate. The Altar, when all its Veſſels and Inſtruments were put upon it, was cover'd with a purple Cloth, and then with a Covering of Badgers Skins. The Staves were put to it, and then it was ready.

The *Levites* of the Family of *Kohath* had the Charge of the moſt holy Things, and their Office it was to carry them when they were to be removed, even the Ark it ſelf: Not but that the Prieſts might ſometimes bear the Ark, being more in number than the *Levites*. And accordingly we find that upon extraordinary Occaſions they did; as when they paſs'd over *Jordan*, and beſieged *Jericho*: but ordinarily it was the Buſineſs of the *Levites*, and they uſually diſcharged it. But tho' it was the Duty of the *Levites* to bear the holy Things above-mention'd; yet, as ſome imagine, they were not to touch any of them till they were cover'd by the Prieſts: But it is more probable that even then they were not to touch them, but only the Staves or the Bier upon which they were carried; eſpecially the Ark, whoſe Staves only they touched, and lifted it up, by putting them upon their Shoulders. When the *Glory of the Lord* was remov'd, and every thing was cover'd, the *Levites* might go into the moſt holy Place; but they were not allowed to ſee the Prieſts cover them, which was to be done before they approached, upon pain of Death.

Deut. 31. 9. Joſh. 3. 14. 6. 6.

Death. And to prevent this Penalty falling upon these *Kohathites*, *Eleazar* was commission'd to inspect into their several Duties, and to see that they behaved with Reverence; and *Aaron* and his Son allotted to every one his Share in the Work, and order'd them to the particular Service they thought most proper for them. Chap. 7.

The Family of the *Gershonites* were to carry the ten fine Curtains which were the inward Hangings of the Tabernacle, and which, I suppose, they took down likewise. They had the Charge of the eleven Curtains of Goats Hair, of the outward Covering of all, which was of Rams Skins dyed red, and Badgers Skins; of the Hangings of the Court, and the Hanging of the Court-Gate, and the Cords used in fastning the Hangings, and the brazen Pins, and of all the Utensils belonging to the Outside of the Tabernacle and the Court about it. And that they might neither forget nor mistake their Duty, the Priests gave them the Particulars of what they were to do in their several Employments. This Family was under the Conduct and Direction of *Ithamar*.

The most laborious Service lay upon the *Merarites*. It was their Duty to carry, and to take down, I suppose, the Boards of the Tabernacle, and the Bars, and Pillars, and Sockets belonging to it; the Pillars of the Court, the Sockets, Pins, Cords, and other Utensils. And for the greater Security, the Priests gave them an Inventory of the Particulars, expressing by Name every Pin, for instance, to what Use and in what Place it served. This Family was likewise under the Care of *Ithamar*: For tho' the three *Levitical* Families had a Commander over them, yet there was an Officer in chief set over them all; and this was *Eleazar*, who was more than a *Levite*, being the eldest Son of *Aaron* the High Priest. His Business was particularly to supervise those who had the Sanctuary under their Care; as it was the Duty of *Ithamar* to take care of the

Levitical

Levitical Families of *Gerſhon* and *Merari*. The heavieſt Burden lay upon theſe two Families; and therefore they were not to carry upon their Shoulders, but were allow'd Waggons, that ſuch Parts of the Tabernacle that were moſt cumberſome might be more decently carried, and be ſecur'd from Duſt, Rain, and other Inconveniences. Theſe Waggons were not ordinary Carriages, but were cover'd, and ſuch as were uſed by Perſons of the firſt Quality. The *Gerſhonites*, who had the leſs burdenſome Things to carry, had two Waggons and four Oxen allowed them. The *Merarites*, who had the greateſt Burden, had four Waggons and eight Oxen. But the *Kohathites* were to bear upon their Shoulders: And this, as a learned Rabbi obſerves, was for the greater Honour and Dignity of the Ark, and of the Law contained in it; and that the Form and Structure of the Ark might not be diſcompos'd, nor the *Ephod* and the Breaſt-plate ruffled, as they might have been by the ſhaking of the Carriage.

Maim. More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 45.

CHAP. VIII.

The various Motions and Stations of the Tabernacle *and the* Ark, *till they were placed in the Temple of* Solomon.

NOTHING, I think, remains upon this Subject, but to take a ſhort Survey of the ſeveral Motions and Stations of the Tabernacle and the Ark, from their firſt Erection, till they were remov'd and fix'd in the Temple of *Solomon*. The Tabernacle was brought into the Land of *Canaan* by *Joſhua*, after it had been flitting in the Wilderneſs about thirty nine Years. It was firſt pitched and ſet up at *Gilgal*, the famous Place of the firſt incamping of the *Iſraelites*; but the Ark was parted from it immediately after

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it was fixed, and carried into the Field before the Army in the Wars of *Canaan*. While the Tabernacle remained at *Gilgal*, the *Sanhedrim* sat near it, with a strong Camp as a Guard for the Defence of both. The time of the Tabernacle's resting in this Place was till the Land was conquer'd, and *Judah* and the Sons of *Joseph* were seated, which was seven Years, tho' some of the *Jews* allow it fourteen, during which time they assert it was lawful to sacrifice upon High Places. When the Land was conquer'd, and their Affairs were settled in Peace, they removed the Tabernacle from *Gilgal* to a Town of *Ephraim*, called *Shiloh*, or *Peaceable*, because they had Rest from their Wars and from their Enemies round about. Here it stood from the seventh Year of the Government of *Joshua* to the Death of *Eli*, about three hundred forty and nine Years. And in this Place the *Jews* suppose that the *House of Stone* was built for the Tabernacle, having no solid Roof, but was still cover'd with the Curtains it had when it was first made. And this they ground upon a Passage in the first Book of *Samuel*, where the Tabernacle is called a *Temple*; and upon another Place in the same Book, where it is said to have *Doors*. At *Shiloh*, says the *Talmud*, there was no Roof, but a *House of Stone* below, and Curtains above; and it was a Place of Rest. The most holy Things were eaten within the Curtains, and the less holy and second Tithe without. But there can be no Certainty of this; for it is an usual thing to call the Tabernacle by the Name of a Temple, as the Temple when it was built is called a Tabernacle. Besides, it is expressly said, that there was no House built unto the Name of the Lord till the Days of *Solomon*. And God himself declares positively, I have not dwelt in an House since I came out of *Egypt*.

Chap. 8.

1 Sam. 3. 15. Ch. 1. 9.

In Zevachim per. 14.

Jerem. 18. 20. Lament. 2. 6.

1 Kings 3. 2.

2 Sam. 7 6.

From *Shiloh* the Tabernacle was removed to *Nob*, a City of Priests in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And this, it is supposed, was done by some prophetical Direction, though it be not expressed.

Its

Book III. Its next Station was at *Gibeon*, where *David* appointed Priests and *Levites* in their Attendance upon it; and here it continued, till it was removed, with all the holy Vessels, by *Solomon* into the Temple which he had built. What became of them there is variously conjectur'd; some supposing that they were still used, others that they were laid up: But the latter Opinion seems the more probable, that this sacred Fabrick, and its Utensils made by *Moses*, did, upon the rising of a greater and more eminent Glory, decay, and were laid aside, as all his Ceremonies were to do upon the rising of the *Gospel*. And thus are settled the different Stations of the Tabernacle.

During the Abode of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, the *Ark* and the *Tabernacle* were not separated, and they were both together set up at *Gilgal*; but they were parted immediately after they were fixed, and the Ark was carried before them in the Wars. It was born by the Priests when the Army passed over *Jordan*; and whereas usually it was order'd to be carry'd in the Middle of their Camps, it was now carry'd in the Front of them. It was the Business of the *Levites* of the Family of *Kohath* (says *Kimchi*) to bear the Ark; but now the Priests are appointed to that Office, for the greater Sanctification or Honour of it, and because of the Miracle that was to be wrought before it. Our Rabbins say that the Priests carry'd it three times, now in this Place, and when they compassed *Jericho*, and when *Zadok* and *Abiathar* brought it back to *Jerusalem*, upon *David*'s Flight from *Absalom*; unto which may be added a fourth, when it was brought into the Temple of *Solomon*; for the *Levites* were not permitted to go into the Sanctuary, much less into the Most Holy Place, into which it was carried by the Priests. The Ark being carried in the Front was a Guide to the whole Army; for the Pillar of the Cloud, which hitherto conducted them, had now left them, and was supplied by the Ark, which went before them as that was used to do: And to se-

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cure to it a juſt Awe and Reverence, there was a Space to be obſerved between it and the foremoſt Rank of about two thouſand Cubits. This Diſtance, it is ſuppoſed, was meaſured by a Line, at which the People were at firſt ſet, and then walking in equal Paces with the Prieſts, kept the ſame Diſtance, though perhaps not preciſely, for they might chance to move a Pace or two faſter, or take larger Paces; and therefore the Command ſays, about two thouſand Cubits. When the Army had paſſed over *Jordan*, and advanced in order to encompaſs the Walls of *Jericho*, the Ark was removed from the Front, the Men of War marched firſt, then came ſeven Prieſts blowing with ſeven Trumpets, and were followed by the Ark, and the People made up the Rear. From *Jericho* the Ark removed to Mount *Ebal*, and then was carried to *Shiloh*, and placed in the Tabernacle: But upon that fatal Defeat given the *Iſraelites* by the *Philiſtines*, it was captivated, and carried by the Conquerors to *Aſhdod*, one of the Cities where ſome of the *Anakims* were left unſubdued by *Joſhua*. Here they placed it in the Temple of *Dagon*, the Deity of the Country, who by this Victory and Spoil ſeemed to triumph over the God of *Iſrael*; though there are ſome who imagine that their ſetting the Ark by *Dagon*, on the Side of him, ſignified that they intended to do ſome Honour to it, as having the Preſence of God in it. This Idol fell down before the Ark, from the Pedeſtal on which it ſtood, and was ſo broken with the Fall, that his Head and Hands were thrown out of the Door with the greateſt Contempt, being cut off upon the Threſhold of the Temple. It was not only a Plague to their Gods, but to the People and to their Country; for the Men of *Aſhdod*, and the adjacent Coaſts, were afflicted with a dreadful Diſtemper, which Interpreters differ much about. Some take this Diſeaſe for a *Dyſentery*, which was ſo violent that it rotted the Guts, and made them fall down and come out. Others think it

Chap. 8.

1 Sam. 4.

was

was that which we call *Procidentia Ani*, the falling of the Fundament. But moſt Interpreters, ancient and modern, take it, as we do, for the *Emerods*, and that ſort of them which do not ſwell outwardly, but lie hidden within, and are the moſt grievous and incurable. Upon this Affliction a General Council of the *Philiſtines* was called, whether to keep the Ark, or how to diſpoſe of it; and it was reſolv'd by the Lords in Council, that it ſhould be carried to *Gath*, which was the next City Northward; for they ſeem'd to be poſſeſs'd of a ſuperſtitious Conceit, that there was ſomething in the Place which was offenſive to the God of *Iſrael*, and that he might be better pleaſed with another. But the Men of *Gath* were ſorely viſited with the ſame Diſeaſe, and therefore they ſent the Ark to *Ekron*, another City; but the Governor growing wiſe by Experience, ſummon'd a Council of the Lords, who agreed to detain it no longer, and to ſend it quite out of the Country; but the Citizens ſmarted under the divine Stroke as ſoon as the Ark came thither, and were ſtruck with the Peſtilence, which carried off Multitudes of them; and thoſe who were alive were plagued with *Emerods*, and linger'd under intolerable Pains, which made them cry out in an inexpreſſible manner.

The Ark, after its Captivity at the Battle of *Aphek*, was detained by the *Philiſtines* ſeven Months; and when they reſolved to remove it, they determined to ſend it home with Preſents, called a *Treſpaſs-Offering*, as an Acknowledgment that they had offended the God of *Iſrael* for bringing the Ark out of its proper Place, for which they begged his Pardon by this Offering. This Oblation conſiſted of the Images of five *golden Emerods* and five *golden Mice*, which was the Number of the Lords of the *Philiſtines*; for as the People were afflicted with *Emerods*, ſo was the Country with *Mice*, which had eaten their Corn in the Field, and other Fruits of the Earth; and it was a Cuſtom among the ancient Heathens, to

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consecrate unto their Gods such Monuments of their Deliverances as represented the Evils from which they were freed. The five Cities belonging to those Lords, and the adjacent Villages, were at the Charge of these Offerings; for their Fields being principally afflicted by the *Mice*, as the Cities were by the *Emerods*, it was reasonable that they should all join in this Trespass-Offering, which was an Offering of the whole Nation as far as their Coast extended. For the Carriage of the Ark they provided a new Cart, and two Milch Kine that had never been yoked; for this would be a Testimony that the God of *Israel* was the Inflictor of their Plagues, if the Cows, notwithstanding their natural Affection to their Calves, which were kept at home, drew towards the Land of *Israel*. The Ark was laid upon the Cart, and the golden Presents were put into little Bags which hung upon either Side of it; for probably the *Philistines* had either heard, or by their Sufferings were made to fear, that it was dangerous to look into the Ark; and therefore they did not open it, but placed their Offering on the Outside. Chap. 8.

The Kine, without a Driver, but guided by Providence, took the strait way to *Bethshemesh*, which was a City of the Priests, and stood still in a Field where there was a great Stone, which perhaps was the Boundary of the two Countries. The *Levites* took down the Ark out of the Cart, which was not properly their Business; the Cows were sacrificed for a Burnt-Offering upon the Stone, which served instead of an Altar; and the Fire was made of the Wood of the Cart. The Return of the Ark was soon published over all the Country, which drew together a great Concourse of People; but their Curiosity was the Destruction of many of them; for they presumed to look into the Ark, to see perhaps whether the *Philistines* had taken out the Tables of the Covenant, or to view a Monument so sacred written

by God himſelf; which occaſion'd the Death of fifty thouſand threeſcore and ten Men.

The Prieſts of *Bethſhemeſh* that eſcaped, ſent to the Men of *Kiriathjearim* to fetch up the Ark to them, and ſo they do. This was a principal City in the Tribe of *Judah*, which ſtood upon a Hill, and was well fortified; and being a ſtrong Place, there they thought the Ark would be ſecure in caſe of any new Incurſions of their Enemies. The reaſon why they did not carry it to *Shiloh*, its ancient Seat, was, becauſe the *Philiſtines* had deſtroy'd that Place. During its Stay in this City, it was under the Curb of a *Philiſtine* Garriſon, which was kept there, which hinder'd the People from reſorting thither, eſpecially in that utter Coldneſs of Religion that was among them: But at the end of twenty Years they began to enquire after the Ark, and to put away their ſtrange Gods, which procured them a wonderful
1 Sam. 14. 18. Victory over their Enemies. While the Ark was in this Place, *Saul* ſent for it to *Gibeah*, to inquire of God what was become of *Jonathan* and his Armor-bearer; but it was reſtor'd from thence to *Kiriathjearim*, which was the Place appointed for it as yet by divine Direction; for otherwiſe it might as eaſily have been ſet up in *Nob*, where the Tabernacle was now ſtanding.

David, about the ſecond Year of his Reign in *Jeruſalem*, reſolv'd to fetch the Ark from *Kiriathjearim*, where it had been a long time in the Houſe of *Abinadab*, whoſe Son *Eleazar*, being a *Levite*, was ſanctified to attend upon it. For this Purpoſe a new Cart was prepared, which was expreſly againſt the Law, that commanded it to be carried upon the Shoulders of the *Kohathites*; for which reaſon no Waggons were allowed them, as the reſt of the *Levites* had. How they came to forget themſelves now, ſo as to put it upon a Cart, is hard to determine: Perhaps they imitated the Cuſtom of other Nations, who were uſed to carry their Myſteries in great Pomp in a Cheſt upon a Cart drawn by Oxen, or Kine, as the *Philiſtines* did

did the Ark itself. *Uzzah* and *Ahio*, two other Sons of *Abinadab*, attended. *Ahio* perhaps guided the Oxen, and *Uzzah* went behind the Cart to take care of the Ark; the King and the People went before in solemn Procession, dancing and playing upon musical Instruments. But the Oxen coming into a dirty Place stuck in the Mire, and could not get out their Feet; which *Uzzah* perceiving, and fearing the King and the People by this Accident might be stopt too long in their Procession, *took hold of the Ark*, intending perhaps to carry it, with the Assistance of his Brethren, to Mount *Zion*, which was not far off. But this should have been done before, and because he did it not, he was struck dead. Besides, a *Levite* was not allowed so much as to see the Ark, much less to touch it; but it being cover'd by the Priests, was to be carried by the *Levites* upon their Shoulders at the Staves End. The manner of the Death of this unfortunate *Levite* is variously conjectur'd: Some think he was suddenly choak'd; others, that his Arm and his Shoulder, upon which he should have carried the Ark, were dried up; others, that he was blasted with Lightning. But all these and the like Surmises are equally uncertain; it is enough to know that he died suddenly, not from any natural Cause, but struck avengefully by the Hand of Heaven. The learned *Bochart* observes truly, that though his Intention perhaps was good, yet that would not excuse an Offence against an express Law divinely revealed. *Abarbinel* also adds this as a Cause of his Punishment, that he wanted Faith in God, who would not have suffer'd his Ark to fall into the Dirt, but have supported it himself without *Uzzah*'s Help.

Chap. 8.

2 Sam. 6. 6.

Hierozoicon, p. 1. l. 2. c. 13.

This sudden Disaster so disturb'd the Solemnity of the Procession, that *David* began to apprehend himself to be in danger; and therefore durst not at this time bring the Ark into his City, but for the present laid it up in the House of *Obed Edom*, where he knew it would be reverentially treated. Here it continued for three Months;

Book III. from whence it was brought in great Pomp to *Sion*, where he hung some Curtains round about it, after the Fashion of the Tabernacle. Here he erected an Altar for the Offerings that were made upon the account of the Ark's being brought up, but not for the Use of continual Sacrificing; and there he appointed a constant Musick to attend; but the Priests waited at *Gibeon*, where the Tabernacle was, and the daily Sacrifice. When *David* fled from *Absalom*, the *Levites* carried the Ark after him; but he did not think it decent that the Ark should wander about with him in the uncertain Condition he was; and therefore he order'd them to carry it back again. And in *Sion* it continued in the Tabernacle erected for it, till *Solomon* brought it in great Splendor and placed it in the Temple he had built. It was carried by the *Levites* to the Temple, and then the Priests took it up and carried it into the Most Holy Place; for before the Glory of the Lord filled the House, the Priests were permitted to enter the Oracle; but afterward none but the High-Priest might approach so near to the divine Presence, which dwelt there. They set it under the Cherubims made by *Solomon*, which cover'd both the Ark and the Staves; and then they drew out the Staves so that the Ends of them might be seen, which directed the High-Priest in the Way he should go, just before the Mercy-seat, upon the great Day of Expiation. When the Priests came out of the Oracle, the *Cloud*, in which was the *Glory of the Lord*, descended and filled the Temple, as it had anciently done the Tabernacle when it was first erected: Only there the Cloud cover'd the Tabernacle without, and the Glory of the Lord shined within; but here the House itself was filled with the Cloud, out of which the Glory of the Lord broke; and, after it had filled the whole House, settled in the Most Holy Place. In this Posture the Ark remained till it perish'd in the Destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeans*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Proſeucha's *of the ancient* Hebrews.

DURING the Abode of the Tabernacle at *Shilob*, there is mention made of a *Sanctuary* at *Shechem*; for it is ſaid that *Joſhua took a great Stone and ſet it up there* (in *Sechem*) *under the Oak which was in* (or, as others, *by*) *the Sanctuary of the Lord.* Various are the Diſputes of Commentators concerning this Sanctuary, and in what Senſe it is to be underſtood. But the principal Opinions that carry moſt Evidence are theſe two: The firſt, that by the Sanctuary is meant no more than the Houſe where the Ark was lodged for that preſent Occaſion; for all the Tribes meeting at *Shechem*, and being to make a Covenant with God, *Joſhua* commanded that the Ark of the Covenant ſhould be removed thither, that the Preſence and Dread of the Lord might be more viſible among them; and the Place where the Ark was ſet for that time was called the *Sanctuary*, as the *Tent* of *Moſes* was called the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*, becauſe the Glory of the Lord reſted upon it before the Tabernacle of the Congregation itſelf was built. And further, it is urg'd, that the Kings and the chief Rulers of *Iſrael* had a Power to carry the Ark from the Place of its conſtant Reſidence, when there was a great Occaſion for it. And now, at this great Aſſembly of the whole Nation, by their Repreſentatives, there was a juſt Reaſon for its being brought to *Shechem* (ſince *Joſhua*, for his Age, could not conveniently go to *Shilob*) that it might be a more ſolemn Meeting, being held in the Preſence of God. The Caſe of the Oak's being in or by the Sanctuary, it is ſaid, is not contrary to the Precept which forbids any Trees or Tree to be planted near the Altar of the Lord; for though they were prohibited to plant Trees near God's Altar,

Joſh. 24. 26.

Bertram de Rep. Jud. cap. 15.
1 Sam. 4. 3, 4.
2 Sam. 15. 24.

Deut. 16. 21, 22.

Book III. after the manner of the *Gentiles*, this did not make it unlawful to set up the Sanctuary under a Tree that had been planted before, especially when it was done only for a short time, and not to make it the settled Place for its constant Abode.

Book 1. Dis. 18. But the learned Mr. *Mede* is of another Opinion, which he defends by Reasons, which to me are unanswerable, though the Reader is left to judge for himself. His Discoveries upon this Subject are so curious, and so judiciously express'd, that I shall make no Difficulty to use his own Words, which go to the End of this Chapter. The great Matter (says he) of Difficulty is, how this *Oak*, or Oaken-holt of *Sichem*, is said here in my Text to have been *in* (for so the *Hebrew* is) or *by* the Sanctuary of the Lord; for how comes the Sanctuary of the Lord to be at *Sichem*, whenas the Tabernacle *and the Ark of the Testimony* were at *Shiloh*, there set up by *Joshua* himself, and so remained (as the Scripture elsewhere tells us) *untill the time of the Captivity of the Land*, which without question was not till after *Joshua* was dead and buried, and is usually understood of that Time when the Ark was taken captive by the *Philistines*; and yet is not only here a Sanctuary mentioned at *Sichem*, but in the Beginning of the Chapter, the Elders and Officers of the Tribes are said, upon *Joshua*'s Summons, to have *presented themselves there before the Lord*, which Speech useth to imply as much?

Judg. 18. 30, 31. 1 Sam. 4.

Josh. 24. 1.

If we say the *Ark of God* was taken out of its Place at *Shiloh*, and brought to *Sichem* by the *Levites*, upon occasion of this General Assembly, yet the Difficulty will not be remov'd; for, first, how could the Ark alone give Denomination to the Place where it stood to be called the *Sanctuary of the Lord*? Or, secondly, If the Altar were there with it, how was the Law of God observed, which saith, *Thou shalt not plant a Grove of any Trees (or any Tree) near unto the Altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee; neither shalt thou*

Deut. 16. 21, 22.

thou set up a Pillar, which the Lord thy God hateth: Whereas here are both, an *Oak*, or *Quercetum*, in the *Sanctuary* of God; and a Pillar, or Statue, erected under it? Thirdly, This Sanctuary, whatsoever it was, must be something which had a constant or fix'd Station, and was not temporary and mutable; and that because the *Oak*, under which this Pillar was erected by *Joshua*, is here designed and pointed out by it, as by a constant or standing Mark; or else to what purpose had it been to sign out the *Oak* by it, if it were such as would be here to-day, and not to-morrow? For these Reasons it appears, that *this Sanctuary* could not be the *Tabernacle* where the Ark and Altar for *Israel* were, but that it was something else; and what that should be is to be inquired. I answer, it was a *Proseucha*, or praying Place, which the *Israelites* (at least those of *Ephraim*, in whose Lot it was) after the Country was subdu'd unto them, had erected, at that very Place, at *Sichem*, where God first appear'd to *Abraham*, and where he built his first Altar after he was come into the Land of *Canaan*, the Place where God said unto him, *Unto thy Seed will I give this Land.* Chap. 9.

For the understanding whereof you must take Notice, that the *Jews*, besides their *Tabernacle* or *Temple*, which was the *only Place for Sacrifice*, had (first or last) two sorts of *Places for religious Duties*, the one called *Proseuchæ*, the other, *Synagogues*; the Difference between which was this: *Proseucha* was a Plot of Ground encompassed with a Wall, or some other like Mound or Enclosure, and open above, much like to our Courts; the Use properly for Prayer, as the Name *Proseucha* importeth. A *Synagogue* was *Ædificium tectum*, a cover'd Edifice, as our Houses and Churches are, where the Law and Prophets were read and expounded, and the People instructed in divine Matters, according to that; Moses *in old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day.* From whence also you may gather, Acts 15. 21.

Book III. that *Synagogues* were *within* the Cities, as *Proſeucha's* were *without*.

That *Proſeucha's* were ſuch Places as I have deſcrib'd them to be, I prove out of a notable Place of *Epiphanius*, a *Jew* bred and born in *Paleſtine*, who, in his Tract againſt the *Maſſalian* Hereticks, after he hath told us that the *Maſſaliani* built themſelves *certain Houſes, or large Places, like the Ancients Places of Market, which they called* Proſeuchæ, goes on thus: *And that the* Jews *of old (as alſo the* Samaritans*) had certain Places without the City for Prayer, which they called* Proſeucha's, *appears out of the* Acts of the Apoſtles, *where* Lydia, *a Seller of Purple, is ſaid to have met with the Apoſtle* Paul, *and to have heard him preaching in that Place, of which the Scripture ſaith it ſeemed to be a Place of Prayer.* He goes on ſtill: *There is alſo at* Sichem, *which is now called* Neapolis, *above a Mile without the City, a* Proſeucha, *or Place of Prayer, like a Theatre, which was built in the open Air, and without a Roof, by the* Samaritans, *who affected to imitate the* Jews *in all things.* Out of theſe Words you may collect every Part of my Deſcription: *Firſt*, That *Proſeuchæ* were out of the Cities in the Fields: *Secondly*, That they were like the Ancients *Fora*, or Places of Market, and under the open Air, and without Roof, ſuch as the Courts of the Temple alſo were, whither the People came to pray; ſo that they were, as it were, a kind of disjoined and remoter Courts unto the Temple, whither they turned themſelves when they prayed in them: *Thirdly*, That they were ordained for Places of Prayer. All theſe are in this Paſſage of *Epiphanius*; and moreover, that ſuch a one was in his Time remaining at *Sichem*, the Place the Text ſpeaks of, there erected by the *Samaritans*, in that, as in all things elſe, Imitators of the *Jews*. What better Teſtimony could be deſired?

Acts 16. 13.

As for *Proſeucha's*, ſuch as we have deſcrib'd them, none, that I know, have affirmed or determined ought of their Antiquity, it may be, not taken

taken it into Consideration, either because they had no Occasion to think of any such Matter, or because they confounded them altogether with *Synagogues*. The Matter therefore being yet free and undecided, I will make bold to affirm, that *Proseucha's*, that is, open Places for Prayer, were from the Days of *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*; and though the *Jews* had, or were to have but one Altar, or Place of Sacrifice, that namely which the Lord should chuse to place the Ark of his Covenant there, the Tabernacle or Temple, yet had they other Places for Devotion and religious Use. Chap. 9.

And that *this Sanctuary of God*, here mentioned in my Text at *Sichem* (which was a *Levitical* City) was such a one, my Reasons are these: *First*, Because it is incredible, that the *Israelites*, having but *one Temple* for the whole Nation, whereat they were bound to appear, and those the Males only, but thrice a Year, should have no other Places of Prayer nearer their Dwellings, whither they might resort on *Sabbath days*, the Temple or Tabernacle being from some of them above an hundred Miles distant at the least. *Secondly*, Because (as I have already shewed) *this Sanctuary at* Sichem *could not be the* Tabernacle (which was then at *Shiloh*, not at *Sichem*) and yet must have some stable and fixed Place, because the Situation of the *Oak* is designed by it; yea, must have been still there, when this Story of *Joshua* was written, which is thought to be long after his Death. Surely this Chapter was written after it, where both his Death and Burial are recorded. Wherefore to say the Ark was brought thither upon this Occasion will not serve turn. *Thirdly*, This Place should be a *Proseucha*, because of that Circumstance of Trees growing in it; which, as it proves it not to have been the *Tabernacle* (where no such thing was lawful to be) so seems it to be a characteristical Note of a *Proseucha*: For though it were not lawful to have Trees near the Altar of God, that is, in or about the Court of the

Book III. the Tabernacle, yet was it not so with *Proseucha's*; yea, they seem to have been ordinarily beset and garnish'd with them. This may be gather'd from a Passage of *Philo Judæus*, where relating the barbarous Outrage of the *Gentiles* at *Alexandria* against the *Jews* there dwelling, in the Time of *Caius*, saith he, *Of some of the* Proseucha's *they cut down the Trees, others they demolish'd to the very Foundations.* Mark, here they *distreed* the Proseucha's.

The same is implied by that of the Poet, speaking of a *Jewish* Wizard or Fortune-teller.

Conducta sub arbore Conjux.

And *Juvenal* in his sixth Satire.

Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in Aurem,
Interpres Legum Solymarum, magna Sacerdos
Arboris, ac summi fida internuncia Cœli.

Interpres Legum Solymarum, that is, of *Moses*'s Laws; *magna Sacerdos Arboris*, because of the Trees in their *Proseucha's*, or Places of Worship. The same appears also out of those Verses of his third Satire, complaining that the once sacred Grove of *Fons Capenus*, where *Numa* used to meet with the Goddess *Ægeria*, was then let out to the beggarly *Jews* for a *Proseucha*; and that every *Tree* (such were the Times) must pay Rent to the People; by which means the Woods, which formerly had been the Habitation of the Muses, were become Dens for beggarly *Jews* to mutter their Orizons in. Hear his Words:

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat Amicæ,
Nunc sacri Fontis Nemus & Delubra locantur
Judæis; quorum cophinus, fœnumque supellex.
Omnis enim Populo Mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, & ejectis mendicat Sylva Camænis.

Whence

Whence comes this Connexion between *Jews* and * *Trees*, but from their having Trees in their *Proſeucha's*, unto which their Situation without the Cities conduced; as alſo it did for Privacy and Retirement? Chap. 9.

Thus you ſee how well the Deſcription and Mark of a *Proſeucha* agrees to *this Sanctuary* in my Text. And that the *Jews* had many other ſuch in other Places, as well as at *Sichem*, even in thoſe elder Times, as at *Miſpeh*, † *Bethel*, and *Gilgal*, I make little doubt; which we read to have been Places of the Aſſembly of the People, and the two laſt ſanctified by divine Apparition, as *Sichem* was. Of *Miſpah*, the Author of the firſt of *Maccabees*, if I underſtand him, teſtifieth as much, when he tells us, that whilſt the Holy City lay deſolate, and the Sanctuary was trodden down by the Tyranny of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Judas Maccabæus*, and thoſe of the People which adhered unto their God, aſſembled together at *Miſpah*, to make there their Supplications unto their God; *becauſe at* Maſpha, *or* Miſpah, *had been a Place of Prayer in former Time for* Iſrael; as much as to ſay, there had been a *Proſeucha* of old. And do we not read in that Story of the *Benjamitical* War, in the Book of *Judges*, that the Tabernacle being at *Shilob*, (as appears by the laſt Chapter) yet in the Chapter going before it is ſaid, that *the whole Congregation of* Iſrael *was gathered together as one Man unto the Lord in* Miſpah; and that in the twenty-ſixth Verſe is mention made of *an Houſe of God* there where the People prayed and faſted? True, it is ſaid the Ark of the Covenant was, upon that extraordinary Occaſion, brought thither. But it

1 Mac 3. 46.

Judg. 20. 21.

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* Pſalm 52. 8. *I am like a green Olive-tree in the Houſe of God.* Is not *Houſe of God* here a *Proſeucha?*

† Which ſeems to be the Reaſon why theſe three Places are called by the Seventy *Sanctified Places*, though in the Original there be no ſuch thing. 'Tis worth the obſerving.

being

being certain out of the next Chapter that the *Tabernacle* was ſtill at *Shiloh*, this *Houſe of God* could be none of it. Nay, perhaps we may hence learn, That when the *Ark*, upon occaſion of ſuch a general and extraordinary Aſſembly, was to be removed, they uſed to bring it to ſuch Places as theſe, which were as holy Courts ready prepared for it; and that then it was lawful, and not elſe, to ſacrifice in them.

Pſalm 74. 7. Of theſe *Courts for Prayer* we may underſtand that alſo, *They have caſt Fire into thy Sanctuary, they have burnt up all the* Conventicula Dei, *the* Houſes of God *in the Land*; namely, in the Captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who deſtroy'd both their Temple and their *Proſeucha's*: For if we underſtand it of the Proſecution of *Antiochus*, as ſome do, it muſt then follow, that ſome Canonical Scripture was written after *Malachi* and the ceaſing of Prophecy, that is, in the time of the *Maccabees*; which will not eaſily be granted. Beſides that, we read not that *Antiochus* caſt any Fire into the Temple. Now if it ſpeak of the Vaſtation by *Nebuchadnezzar*, then had the *Jews* before that time not only a *Sanctuary* for *Sacrifice*, but *Conventicula Dei*, that is, *Proſeucha's*, or *Synagogues*; for either will ſerve my Purpoſe.

But now you will ſay, What Profit is there of this long Diſcourſe? Were it ſo, or were it not ſo, as I have endeavour'd to prove, of what Uſe is the Knowledge thereof to us? Yes, to know it was ſo, is uſeful in a threefold reſpect.

Firſt, For the right underſtanding of ſuch Places of the Old Teſtament where a *Houſe of God*, and *Aſſembling before the Lord*, are often mention'd, there where neither the *Ark* of the Covenant, nor the *Tabernacle*, at ſuch time were: As (beſides

1 Sam. 16. 3. the Places before alledged) we read of *Saul's meeting with three Men going up to God to* Bethel; and, in the fifth Verſe, of a Place called *the Hill of God*, whence *a Company of Prophets came from the High Place there, propheſying, with a Tabret, Pipe, and Harp before them.* In neither of which Places can we find that ever the *Tabernacle* was. And as

for the *Ark*, we are sure it was all this time at *Kiriath-jearim*, till *David* solemnly fetch'd it thence. And if at any time the *Ark* might (as now it was not) be transfer'd to any of them upon occasion of some general Assembly of the Nation, that so they might have Opportunity to ask Counsel of the Lord, and offer Sacrifice, yet were they not the ordinary Station thereof. Chap. 9.

Secondly, We may learn from hence, that to have appropriate Places set apart for *Prayer* and Divine Duties, is not a Circumstance or Rite proper to *Legal* Worship only, but of a more common Nature: Forasmuch as tho' *Sacrifices*, wherein the *Legal* Worship (or Worship of the Old Covenant) consisted, were restrained to the *Ark* and *Tabernacle*, and might not be exercised where they were not; yet were there other Places of Prayer besides that, which are no more to be accounted *Legal Places*, than bare and simple Prayer was a *Legal Duty*.

Lastly, We may gather from this Description of *Proseucha's*, which were as *Courts encompassed only with a Wall, or other like Enclosure, and open above*, in what manner to conceive of the Accommodation of those Altars we read to have been erected by the Patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, in the Book of *Genesis*; namely, that the Ground whereon they stood was fenced, and bounded with some such Enclosure, and shaded with Trees, after the manner of *Proseucha's*: As we may read expressly of one of them at *Beersheba*, that *Abraham* planted there a Grove, and called upon the Name of the Lord, the everlasting God. Yea, when the Tabernacle and Temple were, the *Altar* of God stood still in an *open Court*. And who can believe that the Place of those *Altars* of the Patriarchs was not bounded and separated from common Ground? And from these Patterns, in likelihood, after the *Altar for Sacrifice* was restrained *to one only Place*, was continued still the Use of such *open Places or Courts for Prayer*, garnished with Trees, as I have shewed *Proseucha's* to have been. Gen. 21. 33.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Temple of Solomon; *the Preparations for the Building; the* Foundation, Walls, Porch, &c. *collected from the Account of Scripture.*

THE building of a Temple, as a fixed Place for divine Worſhip, was firſt projected at *Naioth* in *Ramah* between *Samuel* and *David*, who for ſome time lived together in that Place, and there contrived a Plan of the Fabrick, and ſet out the manner of the Service: And they even deſigned the very Porters that were to watch in the Gates of the Temple, and took the Number of them by their Genealogies in their ſeveral Villages. This pious Prince, tho' he knew not where to hide his Head from the Fury of *Saul*, yet had that ſteady Faith in the Promiſe made to him, that in all his Wars and Victories he dedicated ſomething of his Spoils for that ſacred Purpoſe; ſo that at his Death he left the greateſt Sums of Silver and Gold, and a Stock of Braſs, and Iron, and ſuch Materials, that ſtand upon Record in any Hiſtory. And as he receiv'd his firſt Inſtructions from *Samuel*, ſo he improved them by the prophetick Directions of *Gad* and *Nathan*, and ſo ſettled the Prieſts and the *Levites* in their Courſes, and Carpenters and Maſons in their Work; and ſo exactly deſcribed the Platform of the Building, that in a manner he left to *Solomon* no more than the Care to ſee the Work done; for he had provided all the Materials before.

1 Sam. 19. 18.

1 Chron. 9. 22.

2 Sam. 8. 10, 11.

1 Chron. 18. 8

The Place deſign'd for this Structure was the Mountain of *Moriah*, then in the Poſſeſſion of *Araunah*, a Man of Quality among the *Jebuſites*, who was ſpared by *David* when he took the Fort of *Zion*. This Mount was ſo ſituated in the Midſt

Midst of *Jerusalem*, that the City lay in the Form of a Theatre round about it. And upon it was the Threshing-floor of this rich *Jebusite*, where *David*, by divine Direction, built an Altar; and God, by divine Fire upon it, fixed that very Spot for the Place of the Altar of the Temple that was afterwards built. This was the Place, the *Jews* say, where *Abraham* offer'd up his Son, where *Noah* built his Altar when he went out of the Ark, where *Cain* and *Abel* made their Oblations; nay, where *Adam* offer'd when he was created, according to a Saying of their Doctors, *Adam* had the same Place of Expiation as he had of Creation. But first this Prince made a Purchase of the Threshing-floor, for which he gave fifty Shekels of Silver; which, according to two Shillings and five Pence the Shekel (as the learned Mr. *Greaves* and Archbishop *Usher* compute) amount to, in our Money, six Pound and two Pence. He afterwards bought the whole Mountain at the rate of six hundred Shekels of Gold, which comes to eight hundred and seventy Pound. Having thus obtained a Property in the Mount, he took care in the next Place to deliver to his Son *Solomon* a Model of the Temple, and all its Buildings; a Pattern of the Porch, Houses, Treasuries, upper Chambers, inner Parlours, the Place of the Mercy-Seat, of the Courts of the House, the Chambers round about, the Treasuries of the House of God, and the Treasuries of the dedicated Things: He likewise settled the Courses of the Priests, gave Directions for the Vessels, and the whole Work of the Service.

Chap. 10.

1 Chron. 28. 11, 12, 13.

The Materials he provided were of different kinds. First he dedicated a hundred thousand Talents of Gold. Now a hundred thousand Talents of Silver (according to the fore-mention'd Rate of a Shekel at 2 *s.* 5 *d.*) arise to 362500 *l.* of our Money; which being multiplied by twelve, according to the Proportion of Silver to Gold, will give the Sum to be 4350000 *l.* This Gold was to make the Instruments

1 Chron. 22. 14

Book III.

struments of Gold, the Candlesticks, Lamps, Tables, Flesh hooks, Bowls, Cups, and Basons,
1 Chron. 28.14, &c. the Altar of Incense, and the Cherubims. He likewise set apart a thousand thousand Talents of Silver, which come to 362500000 *l.* This was for the Instruments of Silver, the Candlesticks, Lamps, Tables, and Basons. The Brass he provided
1 Chron. 22. 14. was without Weight, some of which he brought from *Tibhath* and *Cun*, Cities of *Hadarezer* King of *Zobah*; and with this *Solomon* made the brazen
1 Chron. 22. 3. Sea, and the Pillars and the Vessels of Brass. He dedicated also Vessels of Gold, Silver, and Brass, that were sent him as a Present from the King of *Hamath*, and those Treasures also which he brought from *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, the *Philistines*, and
1 Chron. 29. 2. the Land of *Amelek*. He laid in an infinite Quan-
2 Chron. 7. 6. tity of Iron, and prepared precious Stones of all sorts, and Marble Stones, and hewn Stones that were wrought by Masons that were Proselytes in *Israel*, and Instruments of Musick for the *Levites*,
2 Chron. 29. 4. and Cedar Trees in abundance. Besides this, he gave out of his own proper Goods three thousand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which come to 13050000 *l.* and seven thousand Talents of refined Silver to overlay the Walls of the House, which is equivalent to the Sum of 2537500 *l.*
1 Chron. 29.5,6. So that the whole Offering of *David* in Gold and Silver amounted to 81308837 9 *l.* and 2 *d.* The Chief of the Fathers and the Princes of the Tribes offer'd voluntarily in the whole 25388986 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* So that the Sum collected for this sacred Design amounted in our Money to eight hundred and thirty eight Millions, four hundred seventy seven thousand, three hundred and sixty five Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and six Pence, all deposited in the Hands of *Shelimoth*, a principal Treasurer, and the sixth in a direct Line from *Moses*. I remember the famous Dr. *Donne*, in his Dedication-Sermon for *Lincolns-Inn Chapel*, remarks, That if all the Kings in Christendom would send in all they had at once to any one Service, it would not equal this magnificent Contribution

tribution of *David* and his Princes. I might add, that *Samuel* is recorded as a principal Benefactor upon this occasion. *Saul* likewise dedicated some of his Treasure to the House of God. *Abner* also, General to *Saul*, and *Joab*, the chief Captain of *David*'s Army, and the military Officers of inferior Note, separated a Part of their Spoils to the sacred Service of the Temple. Chap. 10. 1 Chron. 9. 22. Chap. 26. 28.

Furnished with such prodigious Preparations for so glorious a Work, *Solomon* provided a vast Army of Workmen, in their several Distances, to advance this Fabrick. Fourscore thousand Strangers or Proselytes were Hewers in the Mountains; threescore and ten thousand were Bearers of Burdens; and three thousand six hundred Officers were appointed to look over them. Thirty thousand *Israelites* were employ'd to work in *Lebanon* by Courses, ten thousand in every Month, and each third Number rested two Months at home, over whom was a principal Officer. Which number of Natives being added to the Foreigners, amount to a hundred and eighty three thousand six hundred Men and one. *Eupolemus*, in *Eusebius*, mentions a great number of Men sent to *Solomon* by *Vafres* the King of *Egypt*, who also speaks of a great number of the *Tyrians*. Scripture is silent as to the former; but it is certain, as to the latter, that *Hiram* King of *Tyre* assisted with his Subjects in this Work. And if we judge by the Quantity of Provision they consumed, their number must be very considerable. But, notwithstanding the number of Hands, it was about eleven or twelve Years Space before the Temple was finished. They were four Years in hewing Stone, and framing Timber; and seven Years and a half in bringing up the Building: For *David* in the last Year of his Reign gather'd the Proselytes in the Land, and set them to work; and so they continued preparing Materials till the fourth Year of the Reign of *Solomon*; in the second Month of which Year the Foundation of the House was laid, and in the eighth Month of the eleventh 1 Kings 5. 15. 2 Chron. 22. 17, 18. 1 Kings 9. 23. 1 Kings 5 13. 1 Kings 5. 6. 2 Chron. 2. 8, 10. 1 Kings 6. 38.

Year the Work was finish'd; and so it was seven Years and a half in building, which the Scripture, for Roundness of the Number, counts but seven.

1 Kings 6. 7. The Stones for this Fabrick were so fitted for their several Uses and Places before they were brought thither, that they were joined together without any other Labour or Noise than by putting them one by or upon another. The *Jews* are so foolish as to fancy that they were not hewn nor plained by any Instrument before they were brought to the Place, but a Worm called *Samir*, which God created on purpose, did the Business; and that the Stones of their own accord came to the Temple, and there the Angels laid them in their Place and Order. But these are Fables scarce fit to be mention'd.

A just Description of the Dimensions and Figure of this Temple has been allow'd by Commentators to be full of Difficulty, as well because the Scriptures have not so accurately set out the Account, as to justify an exact Delineation of it in all its Parts, as that many Terms in Architecture are made use of, the present Signification of which is differently understood by the best Interpreters. The Writers upon this Subject generally supply this Defect by describing more particularly the visionary Temple of *Ezekiel*, which they understand to be exactly the same with that of *Solomon's*. " But, says the most learned " *Lightfoot*, (to whose Labours I have been abun- " dantly indebted thro' these *Antiquities)* the " Temple of *Ezekiel* is spiritually and mystically " to be understood. The Description of the " Temple and City that he hath given in the " End of his Book, as it was a Prediction of " of some Good to come, so was that Prediction " true thus far according to the very Letter, " namely, that there should be a Temple and a " City newly built; and so it was a Promise and " a Comfort to the People then in Captivity of " their being restor'd again to their own Land, " and

Ezek. 41, &c.

Second Temple, fol. Ed. p. 1051.

" and their enjoying *Jeruſalem* and the Temple Chap. 10.
" again, as they had done in former Time, be-
" cauſe of their removing and captivating out of
" their own Country. But as for a literal Re-
" ſpondency of that Temple and City to all the
" Particulars of his Deſcription, it is ſo far from
" it, that his Temple is delineated larger than
" all the earthly *Jeruſalem*, and his *Jeruſalem* lar-
" ger than all the Land of *Canaan*; and thereby
" the Scope of the Holy Ghoſt in that Ichnogra-
" phy is clearly held out to be, to ſignify the great
" inlarging of the ſpiritual *Jeruſalem* and Tem-
" ple, the Church under the Goſpel, and the
" ſpiritual Beauty and Glory of it; as well as
" to certify captivated *Iſrael* of Hopes of an
" earthly City and Temple to be rebuilt, which
" came to paſs upon their Return under *Cyrus*."
No certain Aſſiſtance therefore is to be had upon this Subject, but from the Account of Scripture, which will be carefully follow'd in the Deſcription now to be attempted. I premiſe only, that the Cubit, by which the Temple is meaſured, is computed to be the ſame with our half Yard.

The Foundation, *the* Walls.

THE Foundation of this ſacred Building was 1 Kings 5. 17.
not only ſtrong, but alſo magnificent. It was 7. 10.
laid with Stones of great Bigneſs and Value, not rough, but hewn and poliſhed, that they might lie even and regular. Of what Depth they were Scripture is ſilent; but by the Rules of Architecture they ſhould be in Depth a fifth or ſixth part of the Height, when the Place is ſolid. The Fabrick ſtanding upon a rocky Mount, we may allow for the Porch of a hundred and twenty Cubits high, the Depth of twenty Cubits; and for the whole Houſe, being thirty high, five Cubits Depth for the Foundations, and on each ſide half a Cubit broader than the Walls of the Houſe.

The full Thickneſs of the Walls is not to be proved from Scripture: Only this is diſcover'd, that they were four Cubits thick, at leaſt juſt by the Ground; for we read of three Cubits abated in the Thickneſs of the Walls for the Beams of the Side-Chambers to lie upon; and therefore we allow but one Cubit for the Thickneſs of the Wall from above the Roof of the third and higheſt Story of the Chambers, to the Roof or Top of the Temple it ſelf. If we allow ſix at the Bottom, there will remain three at the Top; which is the leaſt we can allow, conſidering the Height, together with its Magnificence and deſign'd Duration. But whatever was the Thickneſs, the Wall for five Cubits from the Ground upward was thicker by a Cubit than it was from thence above. At the Height therefore of thoſe five Cubits there was a Bench of the Wall, of a Cubit Breadth, left outerly round about the Temple, on which they laid one end of the Beams and Timber; which was the Roof of the loweſt Chambers, or the Floor of the ſecond Story; for there were Chambers of three Stories high, built round about the Sides of the Houſe, North, and South, and at the Weſt End, and they joined to the Walls of the Houſe without, not by having their Beams faſtened in the Walls of the Houſe, or to a wooden Wall, which ſome imagine went round the Houſe, but laid upon the outer Benches of the Wall. Then again, for five Cubits above that, the Wall was thicker by a Cubit than it was above; and at the Height of thoſe five Cubits there was ſuch another Bench left again, and on that they laid the Beams for the Roof of the ſecond Story, which was the Floor of the third: And ſo likewiſe for five Cubits above that the Wall was yet thicker by a Cubit than it was above, and there the like Bench was left again, and there were laid the Beams of the Roof of the third Story, and of the whole Building.

The Porch.

THE Temple ſtood Eaſt and Weſt; the Length of all from Eaſt to Weſt was ſeventy Cubits, the Breadth twenty Cubits, beſides the Breadth of the Side Chambers: And it reſembled one of our Churches; but only it differ'd in this, that the Steeple of it (which was the *Porch*) ſtood at the Eaſt End, and the moſt holy Place at the Weſt. This Porch was a magnificent Fabrick, twenty Cubits in Length from North to South (for its Length ran parallel to the Breadth of the Houſe) in Breadth from Weſt to Eaſt ten Cubits, and an hundred and twenty Cubits high. Probably it was not empty and void to the Top, but had Chambers and Winding-Stairs aſcending up to the Roof. It is the general Opinion, that the Height of the Temple was but thirty Cubits: but there are Men of Learning who conceive the whole Fabrick to be of one uniform Height equal with the Porch; for otherwiſe, they ſay, that the Scripture makes no mention of the Height of the Houſe at all. And beſides, it immediately follows, that *he overlaid it with pure Gold*; which is not true of the Porch (for that was not overlaid with Gold) but of the Houſe of God only, which, from the Foundation to the Covering of it, was thirty Cubits high; and above that Covering were three Stories of Chambers, which were ninety Cubits; and ſo in all the Height of the Houſe was a hundred and twenty. But the Scripture makes no mention of a ſecond or upper Story, and expreſly confines the Height of the Temple to juſt thirty Cubits. It is ſuppoſed that there were ſtately Rails of Stone upon the Top of this Porch, beſides the curious Ornament of Pinnacles. The general Opinion is, that this Porch had no Gates belonging to it, tho' the Doors of the Porch are expreſly mention'd by King *Hezekiah*. The venerable *Bede* aſſerts, That ſtanding full Eaſt, the Equinoctial Sun, without

1 Kings 6. 3.

2 Chron. 3. 4.

Ribera de Templo, l. 1. c. 2.

2 Chron. 29. 7.

In Lib. Reg. Quæſt. 12.

any Obſtacle, did ſend his Beams thro' the Door of the Temple and Oracle into the very Ark, which was within the Holy of Holies. But this ſeems impoſſible; for the Door of the Oracle was never left open, and the Rays of the Sun could never pierce thro', yet he allows that there was a *Gate* to the Porch: Though, after all, he (as many Interpreters underſtand by the *Doors of the Porch*) might mean the Doors of the outer Sanctuary opening into the Porch. But of this the judicious Reader may determine. The Height of the arched Portal is not laid down in Scripture; perhaps the loweſt Room within was equal in Height to the reſt of the Houſe, that is, thirty Cubits.

1 Kings 6. 33. Between the Porch and the holy Place there was a Partition, which ſupported the Weſt Wall of the Porch, that was ninety Cubits higher than the Houſe. This Partition was twenty Cubits in Length: At the diſtance of four Cubits from either Side-wall, there was a Poſt of Olive-tree fixed, of a Cubit Thickneſs, upon which hung a Door five Cubits broad; ſo that the whole Breadth of the Entrance into the holy Place was ten Cubits.

The Sanctuary, *its* Doors, Walls, Floor, Windows, *and* Roof.

THE *Sanctuary*, or *Holy Place*, or *Body of the Temple*, ſometimes called the *greater Houſe*, ſometimes the *Houſe* only, or the middle Part between the Porch and the Oracle, had theſe Dimenſions: For the Extent of its Length within the Walls
1 Kings 6. 17. from Eaſt to Weſt it contained forty Cubits, the
1 Kings 6. 2, 3. Breadth from North to South was twenty, and
In 4to p. 89. the Height thirty. *Arias Montanus* contends that the Sanctuary within was but twenty Cubits high, equal to the Height of the Oracle, and that there were private Chambers over it as well as over the moſt holy Place; but the Scriptures ſpeak no ſuch thing.

The

The *Doors* of this Houſe, or Holy Sanctuary, at the Weſt End of the Porch, or the Eaſt End of this holy Place, were of folding Leaves made of Fir-tree, and the Poſts on which they hung were of Olive-tree made four-ſquare. They were cover'd with thin Plates of Gold, which were laid and emboſſed upon carved Cherubims, Palm-trees, and open Flowers. 1 Kings 6. 33, &c. 2 Chron. 4. 22.

The Outſide of the *Walls* expoſed to open View, ſome conceive, was overlaid with Silver; for which purpoſe *David* appointed ſeven thouſand Talents of that Metal refin'd: Tho' others apprehend, that without they were of white poliſh'd Marble. The Inſide of the Walls was firſt cover'd with Cedar, and carved with the Figures of Cherubims, with Knops (of an oblong Figure like an Egg) and open Flowers; and all theſe laid in Gold of *Parvaim*. We find that in ſome ſelect Places they were moſt nobly adorned with precious Stones; but of what ſorts, and in what curious Method they were diſpoſed, it is impoſſible to learn. 1 Chron. 29. 4. 2 Chron. 3. 6.

The *Floor* of the Houſe was firſt laid with Planks of Fir, which were cover'd with Cedar, and all overlaid with pure Gold.

Concerning the *Windows* we neither read of their Number, nor the particular Dimenſions of any, neither their Faſhion, or of what Materials. It is probable they were of an oblong Square, their Length being perpendicular to the Plane of the Horizon, and, according to the Mode of antient ſacred Buildings, narrow without, and broad within; by which means the Houſe was better ſecured from the Weather, and yet had Light enough. Their Length cannot clearly be proved; only this is certain, that the loweſt Part of them muſt be conceived to have been at leaſt fifteen Cubits from the Pavement, becauſe the Chambers on the Outſide of the Temple-walls reached ſo high, if not more, as will preſently appear. 1 Kings 6. 4.

The *Roof* of the Houſe, it is ſuppoſed, was flat, according to the Architecture of the *Hebrews*. Deut. 22. 8.

Upon the Sides it was guarded with Battlements, and probably adorned with Pinnacles. It was not supported with any Pillars (as we read of) either of Metal, Stones, or Timber. The Roof was an Arch within, which made it look more noble; and the Covering was of Boards and Beams of Cedar without. How it was secured from the Injuries of the Weather is no where expressed. It is probable it was not defended with Sheets of Lead; for nothing of that Metal is mention'd in the Particulars of the Temple. The Inside of the Cedar Beams of this stately Roof was cieled with Fir Trees, adorn'd with Carvings of Palm Trees, and Chains, and overlaid with Gold. And on the Top of all, *Eusebius* relates out of *Eupolemus*, that there were Bells disposed in an artificial manner to fright away Birds; tho' the *Jews* say, that because of the Holiness of the first Temple, and the divine Glory dwelling there, no Birds would alight upon it.

Præpar. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 34.

The Oracle.

1 Kings 6. 31.

THE *Oracle*, sometimes called the *Inner House*, the *Inner Sanctuary*, the *Holy of Holies*, and the *most Holy House*, comes next to be survey'd; but some Account should first be given of the Partition between the Holy Place and this Holy of Holies. The general Opinion is, that it was but one Cubit thick. In this Wall, which was twenty Cubits in Length, there was a Door that took up the Space of ten Cubits. This Door was of Olive Tree, carved with Cherubims, Palm Trees, and open Flowers, and all overlaid with Gold. Upon this Wall of Partition there were Borders or chained Wreaths of Gold, with a Swelling in the Border like a Bar in it, carried from the one side of the House to the other upon the Wall.

Cunæus de Rep. Heb. l. 2. c. 14.

1 Chron. 29. 4. 1 Kings 6. 16, 20, 21, 29. 2 Chron. 3. 8.

The Walls of this *most Holy Place* were of square polished Marble, as the antient *Jews* generally believed. The Outside, it is conceiv'd, was cover'd with Plates of Silver; the Inside with Boards

Boards of Cedar wrought with Cherubims, Palm Trees, and open Flowers, and all overlaid and gilt with pure Gold. The Quantity of Gold expended upon the Oracle amounted to six hundred Talents, which comes to four Millions three hundred and twenty thousand Pounds of our *Sterling* Money. The Dimensions of the most holy Place was a perfect Cube excavated, or twenty Cubits high, long, and broad. The Floor of this Oracle was first cover'd with Boards of Cedar, and then overlaid with Gold. It is supposed it had no Windows; for it was open'd but once a Year for the Entrance of the High Priest, whose Business there required no more Light than what came thro' the Door. The Temple, as before observed, was thirty Cubits in Height, and the holy Place was open to the Roof. Now it is said that the Holy of Holies was but twenty Cubits high; and therefore it may properly be inquired what became of the remaining ten Cubits reaching up to the Roof of the Temple. It is said generally that it was used for some sacred Service: But this is scarce possible, there being no way mention'd for any Body to come into it. *Arias Montanus* is of another Opinion, who makes two Chambers over the Oracle, each of five Cubits Height, overlaid with Gold, wherein the Vessels and Utensils belonging to the Tabernacle, which were not used in the Temple of *Solomon*, were carefully preserved. The Sides and the Roof of the Oracle were overlaid with Plates of Gold, which were fastned with golden Nails. They bored small Holes into the Plates, and the Cedar Boards underneath, and so drove square golden Rivets into those Holes, each of which weigh'd fifty Shekels, which amounted to about seventy six Pounds in our Money. Some conceive that the Roof was set with precious Stones. Within the Partition-wall there was a Veil hung up of Blue, and Purple, and Crimson, and fine Linen, all wrought with winged Cherubims. It was certainly hung within, otherwise the

Chap. 10.

2 Chron. 3. 9.

2 Chron. 3. 9.

the High Prieſt might come within the Veil, and yet not be in this moſt holy Place.

The Side-Chambers *of the Temple.*

1 Kings 6. 5. IT is ſaid in Scripture that *Chambers* were built *round about*; yet becauſe mention is only made of the Temple and Oracle, it is concluded that there were no Chambers at the Eaſt End, where the Porch ſtood, becauſe it would hinder the Proſpect of it. Round therefore North, South, and at the Weſt End, were Chambers of three Stories high, and five Cubits was the Height of every Story, the whole being fifteen Cubits high in all, and they joined to the Wall of the Houſe without. The higheſt Story was a Cubit wider than the middle, and the middle a Cubit wider than the loweſt, and yet the outmoſt Wall of them was even and ſtreight. The Reaſon of this different Breadth of the Stories has been before obſerv'd, when we ſpoke of the Walls of the Temple. Theſe Chambers are ſuppoſed to be thirty in all, twelve on the South Side, as many on the North, and ſix on the Weſt; that is, four on a Floor on the North and South, and two at the Weſt. They took up half the Height of the Houſe, being as the lower Leads of our Churches to the higher. In the outer Wall of theſe Chambers there were Windows, narrow without, to receive the Light; and wide within, to diſperſe and dilate it; tho' ſome *Jews* believe they were made in a direct contrary way; becauſe God, they ſay, had no need of ſuch created Light. Theſe Chambers, it is ſuppoſed, were encompaſs'd with Galleries, without which there would have been no convenient Paſſage into them. The Doors of the lower of theſe Chambers were upon the Ground. The way to the middle Chambers was through a Door on the South Side, called in the *Hebrew* the Right Side; becauſe when Men look toward the Eaſt, the South is on the

the Right Hand. From this Door there went a winding Stair-case into the middle Row; and from thence there was the like Pair of Stairs into the third Story. Some think there was likewise a Door in the North; but it is more probable that one Door carried them all round. The Use of these Chambers was to lay up Corn and Wine, Tithes and First Fruits, and other Necessaries for the Use of the Priests. Here they slept, laid up their Garments, and eat of the Sacrifices.

Thus is the Fabrick of the Temple described, as far (I think) as the Light of Scripture discovers. But, for a more particular Illustration, I shall subjoin a conjectural Draught of its Dimensions, consider'd together with its Spaces and Walls, as also the Chambers and their Walls, which, if it fails to be exact, I shall be glad to be corrected by the Judgment of better Architects.

The Breadth *thus.*

	Cubits
The South Wall of the Chambers	4
The Chamber Floor	5
The South Temple Wall	6
The Temple Floor	20
The North Wall of the Temple	6
The North Chamber Floor	5
The North Chamber Wall	4
The *Breadth*	50

The Length *East and West.*

The West Wall of the Chambers	4
The Floor of the West Chamber	5
The West Wall of the Oracle	6
The Floor of the Oracle	20

The

The Partition Wall between the Oracle and the holy Place; which being allowed three Cubits, to raise a Symmetry or double Proportion to the Breadth, will make the whole an hundred: Or if you please to allow the West Wall of the Chambers six Cubits, and this but one only, as commonly, it comes all to one	3
The Holy House	40
The Wall between the House and Porch to support its Height of a hundred and twenty Cubits	6
The Porch Floor	10
The East Wall of the Porch	6
The *Length*	100

The Height *of the House.*

The inward Height	30
The Roof one Cubit at least	1
The Battlements above the Roof, according to the Proportions of *Josephus*, in the Walls of *Jerusalem*	5
The *Height*	36

The Height *of the Porch.*

The inward Height	120
The Roof	1
The Battlements	5
The *Height* of the Porch	126

The Breadth *of the Porch* East *and* West.

The East Wall	6
The Area	10
The West Wall.	6
	22

Its

Its Length.	
The South Wall	6
The Area	20
The North Wall	6
	32

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